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WORKERS EDUCATION
IN THE
UNITED STATES

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON WORKERS EDUCATION IN
THE UNITED STATES HELD AT
THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL
RESEARCH NEW YORK CITY

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This report goes forth bearing its debts of gratitude for the help of many persons, both known and unknown. The Bureau desires gratefully to acknowledge these debts and to express its appreciation to all those whose cooperation and friendly aid have not only made this Conference possible but who have been of great assistance in preparing this report for publication.

To the New School for Social Research, and in particular Professor Robinson, Miss Smith and Mr. Frank, as the representatives of the New School, we wish to express our thanks for the courtesy in opening its doors to this, the first Conference on Workers' Education in America. In the effort of arranging for this Conference, we feel particularly indebted to Miss Fannia M. Cohn and Mr. Abraham Epstein. The assistance given by the Bureau of Industrial Research has been of great value. And in the preparation of this report for publication, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Anderson, in addition to the Committee in charge, have given generously of their time.

SPENCER MILLER, JR.,
For the Workers Education Bureau of America.

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INTRODUCTION

The American Labor Movement and Labor Education

By Samuel Gompers
President, American Federation of Labor

The interest of American labor in education has been long and continuous. As evidence of this may be offered the record of labor in urging and establishing free, popular education more than fifty years ago and report after report of the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. To quote from the report of the Executive Council of the St. Paul convention in 1918:

> It is a well-known and generally accepted fact that the public school system of the United States was created because of the insistent demands of our pioneer trade unionists in the early part of last century.

Particular attention should be drawn likewise to the report of the Educational Committee at the same convention and the action of the convention in its recommendations. The report of the same committee to the Atlantic City convention in 1919 is a highly instructive document for those who imagine that the American Federation of Labor is lacking in its appreciation of education as a matter of vital concern to the labor movement as well as to American citizenship as a whole.

Whoever will read the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor from year to year will find them most interesting and conclusive evidence that the American labor movement is abreast or perhaps in advance of similar efforts made by the working people of any other country. The recommendations of the Executive Council to the conventions and the resolutions introduced, discussed and adopted and the recommendations of the committee on education show that America's labor's contribution to this subject is widespread and vital.

In addition to its deep concern in public education the American Federation of Labor has been fully alive to the significance of the educational work which has recently grown up under trade union auspices. As one proof of this you need only turn to the report of the Executive Council to the Atlantic City convention in 1919 wherein is set forth a survey of some of the initial experiments in trade union instruction of a collegiate order. At the Montreal convention of the following year (1920) attention was drawn to the vital importance

of disseminating through text books and instruction sound information on such matters as "labor's activities in connection with the public school system, collective bargaining, child labor, women in industry, hours of labor, minimum wage rates, political action, union shop, initiative and referendum, equal suffrage, convict labor, health, workmen's compensation, and all other important activities underlying the philosophy and principles and procedure of the American trade union movement." By way of summary the educational committee recommended, and the convention adopted, the following resolutions:

1. Including in the school curriculum the teaching of an unemasculated industrial history embracing an accurate account of the organization of the workers and of the results thereof, the teaching of the principles underlying industrial activities and relations, and a summary of legislation, state and federal, affecting industry.

2. The making of a careful and comprehensive survey and the preparation and distribution of a bibliography of all books, pamphlets and addresses dealing with industrial and economic problems, which are founded on accurate information, sound principles, and which will prove helpful in removing the false conception of existing theories of industrial, political, and social economy.

3. Encouraging all schools, colleges, universities, libraries, trade union centers, and all institutes of learning to secure copies of the books, pamphlets and addresses recommended for use by those interested in securing accurate and reliable information regarding industrial problems.

4. Encouraging textbook writers and publishers to avail themselves of the library and the records of the A. F. of L. upon all subjects dealing with the industrial development and progress, as well as the movement of the wage-earners, in the preparation of textbooks on industrial problems and movements.

5. The preparation of a textbook by the A. F. of L. to supplement the existing works of President Gompers and other recognized authorities of the American trade union movement, to be prepared by a competent trade unionist under the direction of the executive officers of the A. F. of L. in cooperation with a special committee for this purpose.

6. Encouraging and assisting affiliated international trade unions in the preparing of textbooks for their membership, dealing with economic laws, the development of their trade and the solving of trade problems, as well as the influence of their trade union activities upon the development of industrial relations.

In view of the mounting costs of public education and the difficulties of obtaining adequate funds, the volunteer energies of the American labor movement should be enlisted, particularly in the development of adult education hitherto entrusted largely to struggling continuation schools.

It may very well be that organized labor, which took such a positive part in the establishment of popular education in the United States, will now take the lead in another movement of vital significance to the cultural development of this country.

Reprinted as an introduction from the "American Federationist" by permision of Mr. Gompers.

FIRST SESSION

SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1921, 2 P. M.

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

out that since the beginning of their last general strike they were not in a position to contribute to the work of the United Labor Education Committee either financially or actively.

Control

Now, how are we controlled? Every local union elects three delegates who compose the educational committee of that particular local. One of the delegates is assigned to the educational council. All these delegates together make up the Educational Council of the United Labor Education Committee. They are the supreme authority; they decide upon all its policies.

Finance

How is the Committee financed? The locals pay dues according to membership. Locals having up to 500 members pay $5.00 a month; those having from 500 members to a thousand pay $10.00 a month, and they pay $5.00 for every additional member. The average dues are somewhat below $10.00 a month per local.

Mass Education *

When the Committee had been organized, its original intention was to become the Central Workers' Educational Body of the City of Greater New York. It had very ambitious plans; and although I have no desire to enter into past history of two and half years, I wish to say that from the very start the Committee thought that some new methods of labor education should be devised if the educational work was to reach the large masses of the labor movement. It was thought that some methods other than the class room method would have to be devised. The latter method can reach only a very limited number of working people because their weariness and exhaustion after the day's work and lack of preliminary education makes it difficult for them to attend classes.

It was the belief of the Committee that once education was available and the attitude of mind created, that there would be ways and means which would make it possible for the workers to find sources of knowledge. The greater task was to create that attitude of mind which would make knowledge a prime necessity.

---

*The scope and something of the method of mass education is given by Mr. Budish in the Survey, June 25, 1921, p. 441-2.

Classes

As I said, we had ambitious plans. We started the organization of a Workman's Theatre, but we failed. Later when the large organizations began their own work, it was necessary to limit the scope of our activities. However, outside of classes which we tried to organize all the time—and we had during these two and a half years about 15 or 20 classes on the usual subjects found in the curriculum of a labor college—the experience we had was that their attendance was not up to the desired standard. When we started a class with 40, it usually ended with 19; and if we started with 18, it usually ended with 7.

Education During Unemployment

The reason why I do not emphasize this part of the program is because I presume that most of the delegates are acquainted with classes; I mean they are all doing this kind of educational work. The delegates, however probably know less about our methods of mass education. The method in which we were most successful was unemployment and strike service. We developed the activities during the seasonal periods of unemployment when people are free during the day. It proved impossible to do intensive work with them because unemployment psychology is not the psychology that is conducive to intensive educational work. It is, however, favorable to extensive educational work, a work which creates a certain atmosphere; and this work we were doing by having unemployment meetings in the union halls. The program consisted usually of two parts: an entertainment of music, singing or recitation, and a lecture. After the lecture there always was a discussion, and during the latter part of our work we introduced series of lectures—three or four lectures on a single subject; that is to say, three lectures on "What a Strike Is", including the theory of a strike, picketing, labor laws, etc., and series on such other subjects in which the worker was interested at the moment. We had 62 unemployment meetings for the various affiliated unions during the last unemployment period. This is only a report which I took from July 10, 1920 to February 17, 1921. The unemployment meetings had a large attendance, ranging from 60 to 400, but the higher figure was more usual. Outside of these meetings we arranged local union lectures.

Local Union Lectures

Now, I do not know how many of the Labor Union Colleges conduct Local Union lectures. A local union consisting, let us

say, of a thousand members, usually has at its regular meetings an attendance of 150 or 200. These 200 are active members of the organization and they usually control the organization; they elect the executive boards, elect the committees, etc. These 200 are what you call the most loyal members of the labor organization who are so absorbed in their trade union activities that they have no time or opportunity for attending to anything else. You will seldom find them at general lectures, you will seldom find them at social activities because they are doing the work of the organization. They are, as a matter of fact, the most important element in organized labor. At the same time they are the element that seldom is interested in the general aspects of life or of the labor movement as a whole.

To bring education before the regular union meeting proved to be a very hard job. The unions usually insisted that it interfered with their activities; it interfered with the routine business of the local; but I might say that to a certain limited degree, we were successful. Altogether we had during the same six months 22 local union lectures at the meetings of the local unions, the attendance, averaging about a hundred (100). These activities were greatly interfered with by the unemployment period and strikes. During the previous six months we were very much more successful. There were 102 local union lectures during that period.

Forum

Outside of these methods of mass education we also made use of the forum. We conducted 37 forums during this period. Our dramatic recitals, which we usually consider in the same class as the Workman's Theatre, were another method of mass education. I have not mentioned the classes. We had seven classes last year, the average attendance ranging from 6 to 30. The subjects taught included blue printing, psychology, study of the human mind, of civilization and of sociology. This about exhausts the activities so far as they can be expressed in figures.

Stimulating Interest

There is one activity, perhaps, which cannot be expressed in figures, and that is the effort made to stimulate a desire for education among new local unions. During the last year, we had two locals of the machinists, who, although unaffiliated had arranged a series of twelve lectures before their local meetings.

Future of the Committee

This effort to create a demand for educational work is actually the job of a central body, and, if I may in conclusion express my personal opinion as to the tendency in the development of the United Labor Education Committee, I might say that it probably will have to become a real central body; that is, a body which does not itself do the work, but co-ordinates the entire work of the city. It will have to do these two things; first, organize the work for the smaller locals, the locals which cannot possibly themselves undertake educational work, and secondly, carry on the work of extension, of getting more and more labor organizations in the city to undertake educational activities.

That work will have to be done by a central body, and I hope that the fact that we are about to organize a national body will stimulate the organization of a real central body in New York City, in which all the organizations doing educational work, will combine into a central body to help smaller organizations and to get more organizations to start similar work. (Applause).

The Trade Union College of Boston

By Estelle Frankfurter*

The problems that confront all of us are similar and the difficulties that do exist are those of location and perhaps the differences of nationality—the fact that there may be a stronger Russian element in New York and perhaps a greater number of Irish trade unionists and workers in Boston—it seems to me, are by far the least important of the problems facing us. Those are problems of locality and differences that can be and must be met locally.

In particular, there are three problems that confront any labor college: (1) getting good teachers, (2) securing funds, (3) recruiting students within the trade unions, and (4) devising a democratic control for workers' colleges. These are the questions which I wish to deal with in speaking of the work of the Trade Union College of Boston.

Teachers

In the choice of teachers and in the number and quality of teachers we have been extremely fortunate. Harvard, Boston Tech, Wellesley

*Assistant Secretary of the Trade Union College of Boston.

and Tufts have been very much interested and very generous in their support. From the start we have had the cooperation of such leaders in the educational world as Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School, and their services have been invaluable and their interest one of the great mainstays.

Funds

As to finances, inasmuch as most of the instructors have refused to take remuneration, which is $10. a lesson, and have turned that money back, we have been able to meet the expenses of those instructors who have not found it possible to give their services free and also to carry on the other activities. So that the problem of finances has been helped to a very large extent, and at the same time we have had the best teachrs that it has been possible to obtain.

Recruiting Students

The problem that worries us the most, and which I think is the greatest of all, is the matter of students. We started the Trade Union College two years ago under the auspices of the Boston Central Labor Union. At that time the membership was open only, as the constitution provided, to members of the American Federation of Labor and their families and such others as were admitted at the discretion of the Central Labor Union. Since then, at the beginning of this year, after many hours of discussion on the subject at the Central Labor Union meetings, the Boston Trade Union College has been opened to all wage workers and their families.

Our drive, now, is for more students. We are covering union meetings every night, covering meeting halls rather than individual unions because that seems the best way to meet everybody; and, of course, there is the matter of publicity in the newspapers. It is our hope to bring the whole workers' education movement before the workers of the country through the international officers of the unions, through the labor journals by printing curricula of the various courses, and by printing whatever material there is at the disposal of all who are in the trade union college movement, so that their members can read what is going on. We feel that it should be the duty of every member of a trade union college board of control, of every teacher, of every student, to emphasize on the floor of every international meeting, every district, state district meeting and every labor council, the desire of the workers for education.

Control

In the Trade Union College in Boston we have a democratic system of government. The power is vested in a board of control of 25 members, all of whom are appointed by the Boston Central Labor Union—15 representing the unions, 5 representing the teachers from names submitted by the instructors, and five students from names submitted by students' organizations. The courses are arranged so that if a sufficient number of students apply for any course, we give that course. We can get the teachers if we can get the students. The chief problem is recruiting students. The College started two years ago with 146 students, a year later we had 400 students, and the registration has now fallen to 200. We have hopes for the future. Mr. Gompers was in Boston some weeks ago and he met a committee of the Boston Trade Union Council. He declared the trade union movement is the bulwark of democracy and the Trade Union College received his hearty endorsement. (Applause).

The Rochester Labor College

By Paul Blanshard*

Courses

The Labor College in Rochester is called so partly by courtesy; it is simply the educational department of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. This is the second year we have been going. The first year the work was in charge of Miss Mary Gawthorpe, who, I understand, did not do any teaching, but did some magnificent publicity work that broke the ice. This year we have been having a great many classes. We have had classes in labor unionism, public speaking, advanced English, intermediate and beginners' English, social problems, women's problems, besides a choral union and a dramatic club. Two or three of these courses I taught myself; one was taught by a professor from the University of Rochester, and two were taught by public school teachers.

Students

Now, in Rochester we have a rather peculiar situation; that is, it is entirely different from New York and from most of the cities of

*Educational Director of the Rochester Labor College.

the country. In the first place, we have the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a pretty thoroughly class-conscious and powerful organization with sufficient Jewish backbone to start the work. I think nearly all of you who are familiar with the work, know that this work usually starts with the Jews. Maybe it isn't so in Boston; maybe in Boston it starts with the Irish, but in most of our unions if we have a good Jewish backbone to the unions, then the educational work has got a foundation to begin with. In Rochester we have 13,000 on the books of the Union, not quite so many working in full season for the Amalgamated.

Building

We have a really magnificent building for the purposes of education, with class rooms and a large auditorium, so everything is centered in that building. It is situated right in the heart of the residence district of the tailors; and it is usually infinitely easier to start educational work in the midst of where the workers live.

Funds

The money that comes for the College is derived from the Union. They pay my salary and they paid the salary of the business agent, who spent a great deal of her time in helping me, and they pay a small amount of money to the university professor who has the advanced English course. The city government co-operated with us and gave us English teachers free of charge.

Attendance

The enrolment for the year was between 250 and 300; the average attendance was about 150; the classes went up and down the way all labor union classes do. And may I say this in parenthesis: I think we ought not to be ashamed of admitting "flukes" in our various courses, because pretty often we do have "flukes". Our work should be a matter of experiment, and in the work this year in Rochester I have not hesitated at all, if a class started to run down, to change it or abolish it completely or start something else in its place.

Lectures Before Business Meetings

The last month we tried a new plan. We have nine different locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and this scheme may possibly be of use to the rest of you who are trying to run work where there are a number of locals. We started the class from 7:30 to 8:15 in a good many of the locals, making it sort of a part

of the local meeting and at the same time starting it early enough so that there was plenty of time for business after 8:15. We found that giving general lecture courses on social problems, economics and sociology, was a pretty acceptable way of getting an educational program started. If you can get people coming to a regular class in time, you can get them coming half an hour earlier to a local that meets once a week.

Forum

All our students have been members of the Amalgamated or members of Amalgamated families. We have run a regular Friday night forum as part of our educational work, with an average attendance of over a thousand. Our meeting last night was about the largest of the year; I think we had over 2,000 there, when we celebrated the 44-hour week. The dramatic club and an orchestra as part of the educational work help to make the Friday night meetings a success.

Paper

Then we publish a weekly paper; and I don't know whether we possess the distinction of being the only educational department in the country to publish a weekly paper or not, but I suspect we do. We found that it was extremely valuable to have a weekly paper going along with the educational work, liberally sprinkled with pictures and jokes and accounts of the classes and maintaining the general spirit of the union. Of course, the publication of a weekly paper takes the educational department over into the field of the labor organization itself, and I think it is very practical to have it. I think the educational department, the labor school, ought to function right in the labor union and to bring all possible material, either through a paper or through pamphlets or something else, to bear on the union situation.

Publicity

We get all the publicity we want in the local papers in Rochester, partly because Rochester is in that delightful stage between a metropolis and a village, where the newspapers still consider it news to talk about things of education and organization. The work is expected to go on for a few more weeks and end with the final grand splurge with the forum on May 1st.

Question: How many students are there?

Registration and Students' Fees

Mr. Blanshard: We had over 250 registered, but a lot of them didn't show up. All the classes except one were free; the public speaking class I charged a dollar to get in, and that was the most successful of any of the classes and if we have it again I think we will charge at least a dollar. We made a misake; we should have charged a person some money to register, because if we don't do that, they just register to be nice to the educational director and you can't tell whether they mean business or not. The average class was about 25, but that was through February. As soon as warm weather struck, the attendance went down very decidedly, and if we run the work again in Rochester, I think that I would favor two ten-week terms.

Question: Mr. Blanshard, what are the types of subjects taken up in the forum?

Subjects

Mr. Blanshard: I will give you some typical programs. The first subject was a debate between a college professor and a labor man on "Resolved that Communism should be Applied to the United States". (Laughter). The next one was a meeting at which Joseph Schlossberg, our Secretary, spoke on his trip to Europe; then we had a debate between two lawyers on "Resolved, that Law is Controlled by the Capitalist Class." We had a debate between two prominent clergymen on "Resolved, that Capitalism Controls the Church." We had a motion picture show, we had minstrels, once or twice we had a play—always those entertainment features accompanied by a lecture. We had a radical lecture on Russia, and a conservative lecture on prohibition by one who attacked the "Reds"—we believe in mixing them. Then we had a number of lesser men—a man on Irish freedom—and that's all I can remember just now.

The Trade Union College of Greater New York

By Mrs. Anna Riley Hale*

In the old plantation life of the South there was a well-remembered figure of a grey-haired Negro whom the children, black and white, called "Uncle Nelson". When not sitting or dozing in his

*Organizer of the Trade Union College of Greater New York.

cabin Uncle Nelson hobbled about the place on a stick, as he was much afflicted with rheumatism, which affliction, however, he bore with philosophic composure and equanimity. His invariable response to all inquiries about his health was a pious ejaculation, "Poorly, thank God." (Laughter).

Unions Backing the College

In casting about for some fitting expression with which to make my report that I am now called upon for the Trade Union College of Greater New York, it seemed to me that I could find nothing that fitted its present status so exactly as that cheerful health report of my old colored friend of former days—it is "poorly", but we thank God we have got a Trade Union College of Greater New York. It started about a year ago in considerable enthusiasm engendered by various machinists' locals and some of the Allied Printing Trades, but chiefly from the New York Harbor District Council of Railway and Steamship Clerks. They organized a committee and with the help of two instructors of the New School for Social Research they formulated a constitution. This constitution was modeled on the one that was formulated for the Trade Union College of Washington, which I was instrumental in helping to organize a year ago last November.

Classes

Now, as to the work accomplished: The Board decided to run a summer session of six weeks last summer in the Washington Irving High School, and we were able to get enrolment for two classes—Law and English. This winter we started out with a much more ambitious program. We had cards printed announcing five subjects—English, Labor Organizations, Law, Consumers' Organizations and History of Civilization—and we were again able to get enrolment sufficient only for classes in Law and English. So we taught that at the winter session for ten weeks, closing just about two weeks ago in the middle of March. There was an enrolment of 18 in English and of 14 in Law for the winter term.

Education for American Unionists

There is just one feature of the Trade Union College movement, particularly in New York, that I want to refer to because it has been much misunderstood from reading our advertisements and on our registration cards. The only matter of finance that had to be

attended to was the registration fee of the students, and that went to the instructors, which was the only remuneration they received. In our advertisements on the cards we announced that these classes were open to all native-born, English-speaking working men. So you see, while we didn't make any differentiation between the types of labor organizations, those that were affiliated with the A. F. of L. or otherwise, we did seem to make certain differentiations. But it was not discrimination against the foreigner. The reason for this policy was two-fold. First, we thought that the native American working man needed to be taught to think, to use his brains on fundamental problems affecting his daily life. Secondly, our purpose was to combat the latest and most sinister argument of the employing class, particularly the most reactionary element of it, which endeavored to make the foreigner in America the "goat" of all the industrial unrest and pretended that any dissatisfaction with existing conditions or with our economic system was evidence of disloyalty to the American constitution, and American ideals. We thought, therefore, that the best way to fight such propaganda was to train and build up an intelligent, enlightened body of distinctly American opinion on economic questions, because no one could say to them, "If you don't like the way things are run here you can go back to where you came from." For the above reasons we limited our work to the English speaking workers.

There is a very great value in that idea of training the native-born English speeking American working man, because right or wrong, wise or ignorant, stupid or clever, he is going to lead the American Labor movement and it is important that he should know where to lead it and how to lead it. We have not in any invidious sense drawn any line between the native-born and foreign-born. Quite the contrary; because if there was any compliment it was to the foreigner—that he did not need our education so much as these benighted and neglected children of America, our native-born, the English speaking workers. This was particularly so since there were already several labor educational movements on foot in New York which were drawing their support chiefly from the foreign-born workers, and seemed to be succeeding very well.

The Trade Union College of Pittsburgh

By Patrick J. McGrath*

In saying a few words for the Trade Union College of Pittsburgh, I must at the same time apologize for that city. In the first place, the college was very slow in its formation, and weak in numbers.

Unions Behind College

The Trade Union College of Pittsburgh is made up of two local organizations, namely, the street car men who make up the Tuesday night class, and the Moulders' organization who largely make up the Wednesday night class. So that with something over 125,000 union men, Pittsburgh has been able to have only three classes up until a short time ago, when one of the classes was dissolved and the other two classes—the Tuesday class with 12 strong and the Wednesday class with, I believe I am correct in saying, 15 strong—still continue.

Teachers

We cannot therefore, be very proud of the activities of the labor movement in Pittsburgh along educational lines. But one thing we are proud of in the Pittsburgh Trade Union College and that is in having two professors who are willing to give up all the time that they can for the benefit of the Trade Union College of Pittsburgh. I care not how large some classes may be in other towns; I'll say that I don't think there is any place where two men can be excelled in their profession and in their delight, working for the success of the classes in Pittsburgh as Professor L. M. Crosgrave of the Carnegie Institute of Technology and Dr. D. F. Tyson of the University of Pittsburgh.

Central Labor Unions

The school in Pittsburgh was started by a few local unions, three or four in the beginning, and instead of getting assistance from our central body and other trade union locals in Pittsburgh, for a long time the reverse was true. They were to a large degree opposed to it; they found arguments against it and stated their objections to the people who were backing it. Their politics were not the same and

they thought the school was gotten up by a class of politicians to advance their political ideas. Later on, when the Central Union came to realize the true principles of the Trade Union College, it changed its mind and soon the College is to be conducted under the auspices of the Central Labor Union of Pittsburgh. While we did not do a great deal last year, we are now paving the way for a much larger and much more successful school for the coming years.

Attendance

In Pittsburgh, attendance at the school is voluntary. They were not, nor are they now, sent to school by their local divisions. The street car men, of which organization I have been Secretary for quite a number of years, were so interested that they practically made up one class on Tuesday night; out of a membership of 3,400 men, twelve attended school and these twelve have never missed a session of the school since they started.

Student Fees

With the central body interested, we hope each and every organization will have a few pupils in the classes next year. The fee that was charged last year was $2.00 for the session, lasting from September until this coming May. This was paid by each individual student.

Arousing Interest

An attempt is being made within the central body to get all local organizations to elect one or more delegates to represent the local in the college, the same as they would elect their delegates to a central body. These delegates would be held responsible for attendance at the school and would be required to bring back to their locals reports, so that the entire local will know what is being done and what is being taught.

Now, if the central body interests itself, and through the central body, each and every local, there is no earthly reason why we should not have as strong a Trade Union College in Pittsburgh as in Boston, Rochester, Greater New York and in other places. I hope and trust that by the time this Conference holds its next convention, Pittsburgh will be able to make a far better report than I am making at this time. (Applause).

Subjects

In answer to questions Mr. McGrath said the two classes in Pittsburgh studied the history of the labor movement. Each session

lasts two hours, one given to the lecture, and one to discussion. Outlines with suggested readings are given the pupils. Mary Beard's "Short History of the American Labor Union" is used.

Mr. Epstein said that Mr. George M. Baird had carried on a course in literature which was well attended.

The Rand School of Social Science

By Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly*

The aim of labor education, as developed in the last twenty years, has been threefold:

1. To make the workers articulate. For thousands of years the majority of the members of society have dumbly slaved and rebelled in their hearts at the injustices that their masters dealt to them, without being able to formulate even to themselves the why and the how.

2. To train the workers as the directors of the class struggle, not the great leaders. These will arise of themselves when occasion demands. But what we must have is the intelligence of the whole of the workers so trained and acute that innumerable directors and administrators will be always available to carry out the principles and policies that the mass itself has determined upon.

3. To prepare definitely trained technicians and administrators in order to insure proper efficiency in the coming change of society.

To the first two of these aims the Rand School of Social Science has devoted itself since its establishment in 1906.

The Rand School was made possible, as probably almost all of you know, by the influence of a group of Socialist Party men, notable among them George D. Herron, Morris Hillquit and Algernon Lee; by the vision of Mrs. Carrie A. Rand, whose provisional bequest for a number of years furnished most of the money for the early experiments; and by the inspiration of Ruskin College, England, through Dr. Charles A. Beard. Upon the opening of the school many letters were received signed by prominent labor men and women of England.

The school began its pioneer work in labor and Socialist education in an old-fashioned dwelling at 112 East 19th Street on the spot where now the Survey is published.

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*Secretary of Rand School of Social Science, N. Y.

Finance

From the beginning the income from the Rand fund did not suffice to pay the costs of the institution outside of the very low tuition fees. I may perhaps be pardoned if I say a word here about the financial basis of the institution because there exists a great deal of misunderstanding concerning it. The school has always worked with a handicap of lack of funds; a constantly decreasing endowment fund until now it is practically nothing, mounting costs of administration, and unfortunate dependence on voluntary assistance in large or small sums, chiefly small ones from individuals and organizations have rendered our budget and powers of expansion uncertain. The Jewish Daily Forward, the Workmen's Circle, the unions to whom the school has applied, have always responded as generously as they could, but it has always been in the difficult position of having to beg for existence from these organizations, whose members, up to the time independent labor education movements were started, formed the majority of the Rand School students. The school could never have pursued its work, if it had not been for the splendid cooperation of dozens of teachers and lecturers who gave their services for little or nothing.

Backed by Needle Trades Unions

The courses in the early years show a fine selection of subjects and teachers. The number of registered students gradually increased from year to year, the average registration for the first five years being about 400 students. Then with the big leap forward in the organization of the needle trades beginning approximately with the strike of the shirt waist makers union in 1910 and 1911, at which time both Mr. Lee and myself became officially connected with the school, the awakening desire for knowledge of the newly organized workers forced a steady growth and each year saw additional departments or activities. Some activities in the nature of experiments were tried and dropped. One year the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union paid for the instruction of one hundred of its members in the school's classes. Correspondence courses, the Training Class, Extension Departments, Research Department, were added and the Bookstore growth was phenomenal.

Building

The Rand School's second home, 140 East 19th Street was filled to bursting. At any meeting of the students, rooms overflowed out

into passages and stairways. Outside halls had to be frequently rented. So, in the summer of 1917, in spite of the annual deficit of, if I remember correctly, $10,000, the school turned all of its energy for the summer into the raising of enough money to purchase the People's House, the present home of the Rand School.* The first year in the new home saw almost five thousand students registered.

Summer Camp

The Rand School of Social Science is still suffering from the shocks of the past three years but it is ready with unimpaired machinery to go on to the new order of things, and as a token of the spirit of a real working class institution, it is showing its vigor by extensive plans for the establishment of a recreation and education center for the workers at Lake Taminent in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania. This is in line with advancement in Labor Education and follows the wonderful example of and takes inspiration from the Ladies' Waist and Dress Makers' Union of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

To us of the Rand School the future is of more importance than the past or the present. The past has been experimental and I have put in your hands the record of what we have tried to do in the form of our curriculum which I trust you will read at your leisure.** Our future methods in Labor Education must depend on the rapidly changing needs and demands of the Labor Movement, which must mould its own forms and content, but the three theses which I have outlined at the beginning of my sketch must stand as the basis of all our work. The third it may not yet be time to initiate, but the first two are self-evident. We must have many sided mass education aiming for the fundamental, cultural and academic development of our people, and we must have training classes.

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*7 East 15th St., New York City.

**Announcements of the courses of the school, a brief history and the Rand School News can be had on application.

Trade Union College of Philadelphia

By Frieda S. Miller*

The Trade Union College of Philadelphia was launched at a meeting called by the Women's Trade Union League last Spring, representing all the district councils in Philadelphia—that is, the carpenters, the painters, the textile workers, the shop crafts of the railroad organizations, and so on. And I would like to emphasize right here that it is those big conservative groups that form the backbone of the College. The so-called radical unions are not in our Trade Union College at all. Our most successful classes have been those located in the textile center; one class is made up entirely of the business agents and officers of the different painters' unions, which was organized through their district council.

Fees

Now, that central organizing body which represented the districts, formed the first group and invited the local unions to come in on payment of a $10 yearly affiliation fee. That's where we got our funds to start with. And then we charge a fee of $2.50 per class for every member of an affiliated union or any of their families; other people who are interested may come in on payment of a $5 fee. We were not afraid to include everyone who might be interested.

Attendance and Subjects

The registration has not been what we hoped. We have had about a hundred people register through the winter. The choice of classes also was not at all what we expected. We started out with a curriculum like the others, that included English and modern literature, parliamentary practice, etc. Those things were hardly touched by the students. Our strongest classes have been classes in practical subjects. We have a College because our membership, made up of older men, are interested in studying the everyday problems which confront them as trade unionists.

Funds

So far we haven't felt the lack of funds; that is, our people

*Secretary of the Trade Union College of Philadelphia.

have "come across" pretty well. We haven't had to pay large sums for teachers and our problem has not been the getting of teachers.

Stimulating Interest

Our problem in Philadelphia has been how to get labor education before the body of workers; not to get just a few people interested and excited about it, but how to get the rank and file and membership of all the unions that are affiliated with us to come. We say to them, "You have paid an affiliation fee; why don't you come?" They say, "Oh, it's a good thing; we want to help it along." That won't do. The thing we have to figure out is how are we going to make even the people who don't come to their own union meetings know what we are trying to do and then make them want to join the classes.

Bryn Mawr

I want to say just a word on a new type of labor education that is about to be begun in Philadelphia, and that is the Summer School which is to open its doors at Bryn Mawr College. The plant, that is, the grounds, the buildings, etc. of Bryn Mawr College are to be turned over this summer for an eight-weeks' course for industrial women. The experiment is under a joint board of control representing the trustees, faculty and alumnae of the college and the women workers of the United States. It is to be opened this Summer to about 70 students. That number is chosen because one residence dormitory is to be used and these girls are to live on the campus under the same conditions that the regular students live during the winter. The type of course offered is much the same as our evening course.*

Control

The Executive Committee is composed of President Thomas, Dean Smith, Professor Kingsbury and Professor Donnelly of Bryn Mawr; Mr. Rose representing the trustees, and the following labor members: Miss Mary Anderson, Miss Emma Roach, Miss Rose Schneiderman, and myself, and two others representing the college, Miss Fannie Cochran and Miss Pauline Goldmark.

Students

The choice of students is going to be made all over the country. The United States has been districted with the idea that a certain number will be nominated by each district and then decided upon,

*A descriptive announcement can be had on application.

chosen finally, by a committee on admissions, with of course a chance for a greater number to come from the big industrial centers than from the other districts. It is hoped to make the Summer School for Industrial Women a permanent institution.

Fees and Subjects

In answering to questions concerning Bryn Mawr, Miss Miller said that an endowment fund covered the $200.00 per pupil, estimated as the cost of tuition counting also the summer's board. The subjects to be taught include English, Literature, Reading, Writing, Public Speaking, Parliamentary Law, History, Trade Unionism, Economics, Elementary Law and Government, Psychology and Appreciation of Art. Provision is made for physical training with gymnasium, swimming pool and dancing hall. Small groups of students in tutorial classes will supplement lecture work with more intensive study along the lines of the student's interests.

The Educational Department of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor

By Abraham Epstein*

The story of the Pennsylvania Labor Education Committee, its organization, its method of finance, is very similar to the other experiments. We have seven cities besides Philadelphia and Pittsburgh where we carry on educational work, and in these our methods are necssarily different.

The Travelling Teacher

As some of the previous speakers pointed out, the labor colleges in the large cities have all the teachers they need. That is not the situation, however, in the smaller cities and towns. We cannot get enough teachers, the kind of teachers who are capable of teaching workers' classes. The teachers' problem is thus a real problem in the small community. In order to do any educational work in the small localities we have to secure the co-operation of five or six cities within a small geographical area. We, therefore, organized a district of seven cities and employed a full-time teacher, who taught a class

*Secretary of the Educational Department of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

once a week in each of these cities. In this connection I wish to give due credit to our teacher, Mr. Charles J. Hendley, for his sacrifice in assuming this arduous task of travelling from city to city to teach the workers six nights in the week. We could not even promise him any definite length of employment, because we did not know whether the money would be forthcoming, and even today he does not know whether his check will arrive on the scene; as a matter of fact, his last month's salary has not been paid yet. (Laughter).

Attendance

Another thing which I should like to point out in our experience which differs from the preceding reports is our encouraging growth. "If you start with a class of 40", some of the speakers declared, "you soon come down to 18." Our case is different; we started with 18 and reached 40. (Applause). That is a very important point to remember—obviously we are not going back, we are continuously moving forward.

Enrolment and Attendance

Let me present a few figures which may be of interest to you. In the seven cities in which we are carrying on our work the total enrolment, and the average regular attendance may be summarized as follows:

City	Total Enrolment	No. in Reg. Attendance	Average No. in Class
Allentown	43	18	10
Bethlehem	68	48	25
Harrisburg	59	28	13
Lancaster	42	22	14
Pen Argyl	22	11	8
Pottsville	20	18	12
Reading	40	38	25

In the regular attendance are included only those who attended class at least three times. Altogether we had 183 students who attended the classes regularly in these seven towns. Our total enrolment was 294. We find that we have an average percentage of regular attendance as compared to the total enrolment ranging from 46% the lowest to 71% the highest. This, I think, is as high a record

as has been achieved by any night school, or night classes.* In addition to work in the small towns, we have helped in the organization of the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia Trade Union Schools.

Subjects

Our course of lectures has been a general survey of the industrial problems. It is called "Social and Industrial Progress." We took up the rise of industry, some of the social and economic consequences of modern industrialism, and then a discussion of suggested remedies, ranging all the way from social reform to anarchism and bolshevism. This was our plan, but we will not repeat this course next year because we found it impossible to cover this range of material in a period of twenty-six or thirty weeks. We will have to confine ourselves to shorter and more intensive courses.

Reports on Assigned Reading

Another important accomplishment of which we can justly be proud, is the creation of a desire to study and read on the part of a number of our students. It is a well known fact that workers are not in the habit of reading books; in fact, many have never read a book in their lives. One hundred and thirty-eight books were read and reported to the classes by our students during a period of twenty weeks. Our teacher reports that the majority of these reports were of high grade. It is to be understood that we had no available textbooks for our purposes. I am confident we have been instrumental in instilling in some of our students a genuine desire for education. I hope and trust that the work will be carried on in Pennsylvania for many years, because we have succeeded in inspiring the members of

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*The enrolment and average nightly attendance of the New York City Evening Schools is given as follows in the New York City Department of Education Superintendent of Schools Annual Report. Evening Schools 1916-1917 p. 43.

	Percentage of enrolled attending
1911-1912	33.7
1912-1913	33.6
1913-1914	36.6
1914-1915	40.4
1915-1916	37.5
1916-1917	40.1

In the night schools of Pittsburgh, the average regular attendance is approximately 50% of the total enrolment. In the classes conducted by the Young Men's Christian Association and the Knights of Columbus, it is considered encouraging if 50% of the enrolled students attend the classes.

the rank and file of the labor movement to see and appreciate the advantages of education.

Magazine Reading

It may also be of interest to point out that we have had 25 or 30 men subscribe to The Nation—men who never read a magazine of this kind before. About a dozen more have subscribed to The New Republic, and I think there were at least a dozen who are reading regularly the Monthly Labor Review of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (Applause and Laughter). Of course we all know how dry that is, and yet, we all know how important the information contained there is to the cause of labor. A few of our students are here and some of them will speak tomorrow, and they, I am certain, will justify my optimism.* (Applause).

Amherst Classes for Workers

By F. Stacy May**

The Amherst Classes for Workers are frankly in the experimental stage. Therefore, even a brief outline sketch of the work must concern itself quite as much with what we are *trying* to do as with what we *have* done. In order to confine myself to the time limits imposed, I shall try to give you only those details in which it seems that our work and interest differ from those of most of the Trade Union Colleges in America.

The College and the Workers

It seemed to many of us that the relations between American colleges and the communities surrounding them varied from armed neutrality to armed hostility, and that this was unfortunate for both community and college; that American colleges (nominally open to any one) were available to very few whose family incomes were not above the average, and that this was true largely because our educational system is founded upon a scheme of prerequisites making the graduation from grammar school and high school almost essential if one is to enter .college. So that, once having dropped out, it is

*The Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. Educational Dept can be had on application to James Maurer, Harrisburg, Pa.

**Secretary of Amherst College Classes for Workers, Amherst, Mass.

almost impossible to go on again, even though one is so exceptionally fortunate as to have the funds and the leisure necessary. It seemed to us unfair that the great mass of workers should automatically be disqualified because the mechanical arrangements of our educational system happened to be such that it was impossible for them to fulfill its requirements, and hence that workers should practically be debarred from colleges and universities supported by community funds or endowed for the purpose of giving education to all.

College Lacks Contact with Working World

This condition is also unfair to the colleges. Curricula and instruction inevitably tend to reflect the needs and interests of the group for which they are intended. Every college offers and even requires many courses which are useful chiefly to maintain an established program that has come to be accepted as a necessary requisite of the "educated gentleman". So long as almost all college students belong to the class which is accustomed to accept this standard—or are of those who are anxious to work their way into that class—"waste" courses will remain as an integral part of higher education. It is hoped that a contact with workers, who have not this particular prejudice, and who may require that a course of instruction contribute to their culture in its boarder sense if they are to accept it, will do much to make colleges genuinely useful organs of society.

Standards of Work

With this sort of thing in mind we approached the Central Labor Unions of Springfield and Holyoke last summer and with them worked out a tentative organization for conducting classes during the current school year. We decided that such classes should be held at the intellectual level of similar classes in the college, and that they should be open to any working man or woman who was willing to commit himself or herself to serious work and regular attendance.

Control and Finance

An Executive Committee was formed of nine representatives of the Unions and five of Amherst College. This Committee planned the year's program and will decide whether and upon what basis the work is to be continued. Instructors are furnished by Amherst College from its faculty, and transportation charges, expenses for books, etc., are paid for from a one year grant made by the Commonwealth Fund of New York City. Each student who enrolls pays a fee of $2.00

which is placed in a fund the use of which is to be determined by the individual class. In Holyoke the classes meet in the Holyoke High School; in Springfield in a hall furnished by the Central Labor Union. Each class meets once a week for a period of two hours, is conducted by the discussion method, and with the instructor decides upon the specific content of the course in which it is interested.

Classes

Class work was started in October, 1920. There were sufficient elections to form four classes—two in economics, one in mathematics, and one in "practical" English. The latter two failed. The instruction that seemed to be required was of a very elementary sort and duplicated work already available in the night school courses. The courses in economics—one in Springfield and one in Holyoke—have continued and will continue until June. From the standpoint of the instructors the work has been satisfactory. About 45 students are enrolled in the two classes and the attendance in both is excellent. The work done is at least upon the same level as in the courses within the college, except that no written work is required.

Age of Students

Our chief disappointment arises from the fact that very few of the younger men and women have become interested. This is probably to be accounted for by the fact that our connections were made through labor leaders, and that they naturally tended to bring in those with whom they were in closest touch.

Future

We feel that we have worked out a foundation that justifies our continuing the work after this year, and from what the members of the classes tell me, they also wish to continue and know of the others who will join. But they will speak for themselves later.

For us the classes are an experiment; we hope that in time they will outgrow Amherst. After another year's work it may be that we will be able to show that a valid connection may be established between a college and groups of workers, and work out an organization for making the contributions of each available to the other. It is very probable that in the larger cities the labor organizations may be able to support colleges of their own. But in the smaller industrial centers the problem is difficult. The colleges have resources for furnishing education. We hope to show that these resources can be made available to any one who needs and wants them.

Workers' University of Cleveland

By Harriet Silverman*

Backed by Garment Workers' Union

Cleveland began its educational work in October, 1920. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which is really a small union in Cleveland, began separate educational work practically at the same time. Our racial groups are made up of Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians, Italians, and Jews. The Italians and the Jews are, I should say, the most active in our Cleveland Ladies' Garment Workers' School.

The School started off without any specified budget. I wonder how we survived. We spent one month in organization. I reached Cleveland as a newcomer and had to scout around in the territory to find out what there was in the colleges and the schools for material. By November first we had organized a course of instruction. We began the classes and it was agreed that we should have in addition motion pictures, occasional concerts if possible, dances and entertainments. We had a Sunday afternoon meeting of students, with a lecture and discussion, and a spirit of fellowship; later, we had a group of courses.

Teachers

Now, this meant scouting around, of course, for teachers; and I hope I will not offend someone, but if there is an ignorant group of the community it is the school teachers' group—we found that out in Cleveland, anyway. They never heard of trade unions and such a thing as workers' education. Many of them have since read a good deal about the movement.

Meeting Place

The Board of Education offered a school building, but the committee found it was much better to start the work in the union headquarters, and the rank and file felt that the union had entered upon a new phase of work; that education was the function of the union.

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*Secretary of Workers' University of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Cleveland, Ohio.

Health Education

Then the Red Cross Society came in and helped out on the health side in a practical and definite way; they showed much genuine sympathy and understanding in putting over that health course.

Library

The Library came in and helped us and gave us a collection of books for a small travelling station, and then an individual in the community contributed nearly 150 books.

I liked very much to listen to the delegates reporting about the members finding a new interest in subscribing to magazines and reading books and doing all sorts of things like that. I think it is one of the most beautiful experiments in the whole game to see a few people tie themselves up on this proposition to come in and read. The library did that for us. The people used books in the library that they never read before. We have foreign speaking groups and others who, I am perfectly sure in saying, had not acquired the habit of reading; I don't excuse it at all. But they acquired the habit when the little library came into the office and they could sit around and pick things up casually.

Subjects

The courses we offered were as follows. We had three courses in English, elementary practice in speaking, in discussion, and then an advanced course in composition; we offered a course also in the principles and history of the trade union movement; we offered a course in economics—and the demand always was for radical economics. Then we had a course in gymnasium practice; we had modern literature, the modern drama. That was conspicuously fine because we had a person who is a novelist, who has been a newspaper correspondent, and who put into that course in literature the keenest interpretation of the best in dramatic art.

Attendance

The groups were small; we number between 18 and 15 in the class—sometimes it falls as low as 5, but sometimes it has gone up to 25. But the numbers are not the main concern in the game.

Health Work

Then we added a course in health, on the assumption that the physical body is the beginning of this entire work. It seems to be

kinds of activities: (1) the Unity Centers, (2) the Workers' University, and (3) the Extension Division.

In 1917, we started with two Unity Centers and our Workers' University, in the city of New York, with a limited curriculum. Gradually this work has been extended so that at the present time we have eight Unity Centers and the Workers' University, which now has an extensive curriculum.

Unity Centers

The eight Unity Centers are in public school buildings in different parts of the city where our members reside. In each Unity Center there are classes in English of elementary, intermediate, advanced and high school grade. The teachers are assigned by the Evening School Department of the Board of Education. In each Unity Center there is also an educational supervisor, who is assigned by the Department of Community and Recreation Centers of the Board of Education.

Subjects

Our International arranges independently series of courses. They consist of the following subjects: History of the Labor Movement, American and European Trade Unionism, Economic and Historic Background of Industry in the U. S., Applied Economics, Modern Economic Institutions, Women in Industry, Applied Psychology, History of Civilization, Literature, Music, etc.

English

At the Unity Centers, our members meet from four to five nights a week. Since most of our members are of foreign birth, it is natural that English should occupy an important place in our educational plan. About 40 teachers instruct our people in the various classes in English.

Health Education

One evening a week in each Unity Center is devoted to Health. For one hour, a lecture on health topics which affect the home and factory life of the workers, is discussed by lecturers assigned by the Bureau of Industrial Hygiene of the Board of Health. These lecturers are physicians. The second hour is spent in the gymnasium, where under the supervision of competent physical training teachers our

members receive instruction in gymnastics. Here they spend a pleasant hour in recreation.

The total registration in the Unity Centers is over 2,000.

Workers' University

Our more advanced activities are concentrated in the Workers' University, which meets on Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings in the beautiful building of the Washington Irving High School.

Subjects

The courses given were: Trade Union Policies, Current Economic Literature, Current Economic Opinion, Economic Geography, Psychology and Trade Union Organization, the Situation in the Steel Industry, the Coal Mining Situation, The British Labor Situation Today, Social and Industrial History of Europe and the United States, a study of the Cooperative Movement, Boycotts and Strikes, Problems of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Applied Psychology and Logic, Sociology, Tendencies in Modern Literature, History of Civilization, The Role of the State in Modern Civilization, Public Speaking, etc.

The registration for the Workers' University is 300.

Size of Classes

It is worth while emphasizing the fact that in all cases we adhere to the principle of a "small group". We believe that the most valuable kind of education is intensive work with small groups. Here the teacher comes into intimate contact with the students, and give and take in discussion is possible.

Extension Division

As already mentioned, the initial steps in our educational work were calculated to reach the more active and serious minded groups within our Union. We felt, however, that we had no right to neglect the great mass of our membership, and that it is our duty to create an interest in education. For this purpose we have organized an Extension Division in our Educational Department. Its work consists not only in organizing special lectures to which all our members are invited, but also in arranging concerts and other entertainments. These are very popular.

Those in charge of labor colleges must realize that the hope of the Labor Movement lies in the increasing intelligence of the rank

and file. Education and information must be the cornerstone of the society of the future. It is the intelligent citizenship in the unions—the rank and file—that will bring about an intelligent leadership. Hence, it must be understood that a workers' college must organize activities for every group— for those who know very little as well as those who are advanced—for those who are the present leaders or will be the future leaders of the organization.

The work of the Extension Division is particularly purposed for those members of the I. L. G. W. U. who wish to occupy positions of responsibility in the organization, such as shop chairmen, members of Executive Boards and price committees. The complex nature of modern industry and of modern society demands from such persons more than the usual information about matters of interest to workers. The courses described above will give the information and training which will increase the usefulness of the members to the International and to the Labor Movement.

Local Union Lectures

For convenience sake many of the lectures are given at the business meetings of the various Locals of our International on such subjects as Problems of the Modern Trade Union, with special reference to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, New Tendencies in the Organized Labor Movement in the U. S., Trade Unionism and Collective Bargaining, the Industrial and Political Struggle of Organized Labor, the Place of Organized Workers in Modern Society, the Cooperative Movement and Trade Unionism, etc.

In addition, groups meet at the offices of Local Unions where courses are given to them which bear on the Labor Movement.

Courses of a post-graduate nature are also arranged for officials of our Union. The activities of the Extension Division are growing. The plan of the International is to provide educational activities for every group of our large membership.

Control

The educational work of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is entrusted to a special Educational Committee which is a sub-committee of the General Executive Board. The Educational Committee consists of five Vice-Presidents of the International.

Educational Department

The Educational Committee, however, is in no position to go into all the details of the actual work connected with Labor Education.

The Committee, therefore, while supervising itself the planning of the Union's educational activities, has created in the office of the International an Educational Department, which is in direct charge of the entire educational work. This Department is managed by a Director, who is an educator (Mr. Alexander Fichandler is the present director), and by the Secretary of the Educational Committee, Fannia M. Cohn.

Management

This dual management is essential in carrying on the work of labor education. For, this work requires not only a knowledge of education but also a first-hand knowledge of labor and its problems, and particularly a knowledge of the workers among whom the work is to be done. The co-management of the Educational Department by an expert educator and an active union worker insures methods suited to the needs of the workers, an education helpful to our organization and to the labor movement.

Stimulating Interest

We realize that no plan for carrying on educational activities can be successful unless it does something more than install the machinery of Unity Centers and a Workers' University. We must stimulate that mental hunger which will demand satisfaction in education within the trade union movement. The rank and file must be on fire with the conviction that "Knowledge is Power", and that with the "Accumulation of wisdom the world is theirs". Then, and only then, will we be on the road to success.

Publicity

One page of our weekly paper, Justice, published in English, Yiddish and Italian, is devoted to the work of our Educational Department. These papers are sent to the home of every worker. Notices of our activities also appear in the daily English, Yiddish and Italian press which is read by our members. We find that we reach our membership most effectively by coming into personal touch with them. We speak at shop meetings, which are held almost every night, describing our plan of education. We address business meetings of the Union. We arrange gatherings from time to time, at which assemble large numbers of members, whom we try to interest in our work. Leaflets and other literature are mailed to their homes. Through all these means we try to impress upon our members the necessity for organ-

izing Workers' Education as an integral part of the Trade Union movement. We try to impress upon them the conviction that while organization is power, education will give them the ability to use this power properly and effectively.

Organization and Executive Work

In my opinion a difficult problem is met in the organization of education work. It is almost impossible for me to draw a line of demarcation between organizing the educational activities and supervising them. The organizing work and the executive work are so interwoven that they cannot be separated. They must be done by the same people. The workers who start the machinery should also control it.

In these days when labor education is becoming popular, it is well to emphasize some of the difficulties to be met by those who would serve as workers in the movement. The work requires a knowledge not only of human nature, but also of the psychology of a particular group—an understanding of their needs and aspirations. It requires on the part of the persons in charge unlimited devotion, idealism, inspiration, and a belief in the aims of the Labor Movement, as well as faith in the power of education to aid the achievement of labor's hopes.

Kind of Teachers Wanted

To a high degree the success of this work rests also with the teacher. He must be imbued with a like spirit. He must be armed with more than academic knowledge and theoretical thought. He must have a thorough knowledge of the Labor Movement and the problems which it must solve—an understanding that this movement deals not only with theories but mainly with facts and conditions.

We try to acquaint our teachers with the surroundings and problems of our members. We try to familiarize them with the books which our members read, those from which they obtain their inspiration and social ideas. The teacher must appreciate and sympathize with the point of view from which our students approach the subject that interests them. Until the labor movement will develop its own teachers, this is the kind of teachers we need at present.

Finance

We believe that education for workers within the trade union movement should be financed, controlled and managed by the workers

themselves. On this ground, the Philadelphia Convention of our International in 1916 voted $5,000 a year from the treasury of the Union to support its educational activities. The biennial convention, held in Boston in 1918, voted $10,000 a year for the next two years, and at the last Convention, held in Chicago in 1920, $15,000 a year was voted for the two following years. Our members are admitted to all of our activities without fees. Members of other trade unions are admitted at the request of their organizations. I may add here, we have so far spent more than the allotted sum. Before the next Convention shall convene in 1922 the International will have spent on its educational experiment the large sum of $70,000. Besides, the Locals themselves spend additional sums for educational activities.

Democratic Control

To prevent the Educational Committee from becoming too centralized and out of touch with the needs of the Local Unions, we have established a Permanent Joint Conference of the Educational Committees of our Local Unions. This Conference meets from time to time, together with the Educational Director and Secretary of the Educational Committee. They discuss our educational activities and make suggestions to the Educational Department.

Teacher Representation

We go further, however, for we believe that true democracy should prevail within the domain of Workers' Education. We believe that the teacher should have a voice in the planning of the work and that those who are being educated should also have a say as to what is to be taught.

Student Representation

In the Unity Centers the students elect two members from every class to serve on the Students' Councils. At our Workers' University the students elect three members of each class. The function of these councils is to be in constant touch with the members, take up their suggestions, and inform the Educational Department of them. They also participate in the faculty conferences to discuss questions pertaining to our educational activities. Three members of the Students' Councils are represented on the Executive Committee of the faculty. These, together with the Educational Department, prepare the curriculum. From time to time the student body also arranges affairs where members and teachers meet socially.

Text Books

This Department has prepared a list of text-books on various subjects which we recommend to our members in connection with the courses given in the Workers' University and Unity Centers. We have made special arrangements with publishers whereby we receive a reduction for our members of from 25 to 40 per cent on all books ordered through our Department.

Lesson Outlines

To make the lessons more profitable for our members, our teachers prepare *outlines* of each lesson; they contain the facts to be discussed and questions designed to stimulate the students to further thought on the subject. These outlines are distributed among the students, who preserve them in loose-leaf binders. These outlines recall to the students the subject matter discussed in the class. They are also sent to our local unions outside of New York in the hope that these will aid in arranging similar courses.

Pamphlets

In order that our educational activities may bear fruit, it is imperative to acquire suitable study helps for our classes. Most of the available text-books are written either for college and high school students or for children in the elementary grades. Our teachers prepare pamphlets on the subject matter of their courses. These are published by the Educational Department and sold to our members at cost. We believe that those teachers who have acquired experience with workers' classes are best fitted to write text books for them.

Culture

It is also our aim to cultivate in our students an appreciation of art, which tends to increase enjoyment of life. To foster this we make arrangements with theatres and symphony orchestras that our members may obtain tickets at half price. We also organize trips to museums of art and natural history, under the guidance of a teacher who explains to our members the significance of what they see. We form hiking parties to the parks and woods to awaken and satisfy a love of nature. Their longing for beauty should be awakened to such an extent that they will despise dirty tenements, oppose unsanitary conditions in their shops and bring beauty into their daily lives.

Unity Houses

The effort to develop an artistic sense in our members has resulted in the establishment of summer homes or Unity villages, conducted on

a cooperative basis. Here thousands of our members live in an atmosphere of perfect democracy and fellowship in cottages surrounded by gardens of flowers and forests of trees, and equipped with all the conveniences that one can desire. Through this enterprise our members showed to the other workers that the beautiful and comfortable are no longer the monopoly of the few; that the workers who build palaces for others and unsanitary and ugly tenements for themselves can become also the owners of a magnificent Unity village.

They showed that ideals and visions of a beautiful future can be realized through the collective power of modern trade unions. Most valuable is the fact that through this experiment our members learn how to manage their own affairs.

Entertainments

We believe that the best way to develop group solidarity is to give people an opportunity to satisfy their natural desire for social intercourse. Therefore our activities include social gatherings, such as concerts, dances, "get togethers", etc. At the opening of every season we arrange exercises in every city where we carry on educational work. In New York, the exercises are held in the Washington Irving High School, where about 3,000 of our members, men and women, young and old, participate in the celebration. A program of music with short talks by educators and union leaders fills the evening. Sometimes "get togethers" are also arranged which are attended by several hundred students. These occasions are graced by as much dancing, singing, and bubbling good humor as any college "affair". Such entertainments are arranged by the Students' Council with the assistance of the Educational Department. We feel that such gatherings develop in our members a feeling of comradeship.

Aim of Workers' Education

At first, though we had no definite aim, we were certain that workers' education must have a vital connection with the labor movement. The question we put to ourselves was "What kind of education does the Labor Movement need?"

It has always been our conviction that the Labor Movement stands, consciously or unconsciously, for the reconstruction of society. It strives toward a new life. It dreams of a world where economic and social justice will prevail, where the welfare of mankind will be the aim of all activity, where society will be organized as a cooperative commonwealth, where a sturdy love and fellowship capable of endur-

ing daily wear and tear will replace competitive greed, distrust and selfishness. To attain this end it is necessary not only to accumulate knowledge, but to develop a social conscience, and a sense of responsibility to the Labor Movement. With this end in view, we set out to organize our educational work.

At present, the object of our educational activities is twofold: individual and social. We want the individual to have an opportunity to develop his mind and body, for body, mind and will must be trained simultaneously. He should be trained for self-expression. He should be acted upon by influences which will mold his character and personalty. The student, also, should obtain an understanding of the great economic and philosophic problems, and the social facts which confront him. It is our desire to develop in our members a new vision of brotherhood and cooperative effort.

Democratic Control of Industry

We feel that if we are ever to have a democratic control of industry, the individual worker as well as the organization must be prepared to share in the responsibilities of industrial management. And if the workers are to assume this task, they must have knowledge of the principles of industrial control and of the history, practice, problems and policies of the Labor Movement. The worker must have the faith and inspiration which comes from a new understanding of life, a vision of a better spiritual and material future. It is our aim to create an Educational Movement which would go hand in hand with the interest of the Labor Movement. We desire finally to develop in the individual a sense of responsibility to his organization in particular, and to the Labor Movement in general.

Education for Leadership

The question now arises: "For whom shall we provide education?" Shall it be for the very few who aspire to leadership; or shall it be for a larger group? We finally decided that we would aim for mass education. We believe that the initial step should be to reach the more vigorous and serious-minded of our membership, no matter how small the number. Our members are scattered in the shops, and since we cannot come into daily touch with many of them, the small group can be trusted to exert a moral influence and share the information and knowledge they acquire with their fellow-workers. We thought that this method would serve a double purpose: first, through such means we could improve the intelligence of some of our members

and second raise the standard of intelligence for the entire group. Furthermore, by offering our educational activities to the bulk of our membership, we make it possible for a person with innate intelligence, energy, and capacity for leadership to develop his abilities and come to the front. In this way, we aim to develop intelligent leadership and an intelligent rank and file—educated, healthy, full of life, full of a desire for a new world.

Labor needs education; it needs *labor* **education.**

Workers begin to realize more and more that Labor Education must be coordinated with the interests of their organization. Workers' Education cannot be called such, if it is carried on abstractly. Workers should understand the general principles and practice of trade unionism, methods of collective bargaining, problems of their organization, and above all, how to solve them. They must understand the relation of the industry in which they are engaged, not only to the Labor Movement but to society at large and the place it occupies in our economic structure.

All this can only be learned through practical experience which results from participation in the activities of the union, strengthened by theoretical instruction received in the class-room. One cannot be effective without the other.

The Educational Work of Local 25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

By Elsie Gluck*

In 1915 the Ladies' Waist and Dress Makers' Union, Local 25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was an organization of some 30,000 members, of whom 80 per cent were women. In that year Local 25 initiated a new plan of labor education. The educational program of the union included classes in English, Labor History, Labor Problems, Economics, recreational activities and lectures on general subjects such as Literature, Health, and Art. These classes constituted a "Unity Center" which, through the cooperation of the Board of Education, became located in a public school building. The Board supplied the English instructors, and the Union paid for teachers of economics, for the lectures and a recreation leader.

*Educational Director, I. L. G. U., Local 25.

The International Undertakes Workers' Education

This plan was so successful that the International took it over, and the work has since then greatly extended its scope, so that it now includes eight Unity Centers and a Workers' University. What is the present relation of the educational department of the local to the educational department of the International? Briefly stated, the local director keeps the organization in close touch with the educational program. Certain new experiments in labor education can best be undertaken by local organizations.

Propaganda for Education

Much has been said during these conferences on the difficulty of getting students for the classes. Teachers are willing to give their services, funds are obtainable, success will come if only there were an adequate response from the rank and file of the membership. This is precisely the gap which the educational department of the local attempts to bridge. It seeks to supplement an already over-worked International Department by intensive propaganda for education in the shops. The local educational director goes into the shop and district meetings to speak on labor education. Her office is at local headquarters, so that when members come to the office, they can be approached on the educational program. As a result, Local 25 members have constituted over 50 per cent of the membership of the International Centers, although they are barely one-third of the total membership. This is partly due, however, to the fact that we are 80 per cent women workers, and women workers make eager students.

Mass Education

But when all this has been said and done, the rank and file is still not sufficiently touched by the class work. It is they who support the program and they must be kept in touch with it in some way. The Educational Department of the local tries to reach large numbers through the concert and entertainment work. Of course, programs for entertainments always include an educational speaker. Our entertainment work is of three kinds:

a. Monthly concerts and entertainments at the Unity Center (These usually attract about 500 to 800 people).
b. Unemployment entertainments.
c. Strike concerts and classes.

There has always been some entertainment feature during the

year to draw large numbers of our members. Because of lack of adequate hall space, our entertainment work during unemployment seasons has thus far been only fairly successful, but there is every indication that this type of work could be developed to a point of great usefulness. This year we tried out with great success the strike classes in labor problems, to supplement the concert, and purely agitational programs also arranged for strikers. The educational work has always been very closely bound up with the organization work of the Union. It would, of course, be too much to ask the International to initiate these local projects, though the International has always cooperated to the fullest extent.

Unity House

Local 25 also counts in its educational work the Workers' Unity House at Forest Park, Pa. This is a summer home for its members run on a cooperative basis, and managed by the workers themselves. More than three thousand members take advantage of Unity House, and its library and recreational work touch a great number of our people. Here the potential artistry of the worker is drawn on in pageant and dance under the leadership of a recreation director.

During the year the Local also conducts special activities such as swimming, hiking, and music. The Educational Departments directing play, round out their program and supply one more tie with which to maintain interest.

The New Brookwood

By H. B. Brougham*

A Resident College

The new Brookwood Resident Workers' College has decided upon a two years' course for fifty students and upon a secretarial correspondence course. It admits three types of pupils from all over the country: (1) students selected by farmers' organizations, (2) by National and International workers' organizations, and (3) a few members of the middle class who have a special interest in the work of labor organizations. The two years' course will take the men through economic studies related to the modern labor movement.

*Teacher, Brookwood School.

Not a School for Propaganda

It will be based frankly upon the hypothesis that a new social order is coming and that it is not necessary or desirable to aid in bolstering up the present social order which is passing. Beyond this Brookwood will not be a propagandist institution. It does not intend to spread any particular dogma, but to give the young men who are coming up through the farmer and labor movements a chance to ground themselves solidly in the fundamentals of sociology and economics, to relate sound practice and sound theory. It is our belief that the farmer-labor movement faces a big job. The workers of the farm and of industry must come to the rescue. They must be educated for the responsibility of leadership. The industries are going through a crisis. It is not temporary. The captains of industry have failed and are projecting society into ruin. To aid in this work, our college was created.

Education of Leaders

The Brookwood College intends to take thinking and active labor men and women away from the daily distractions and attractions such as the cities offer. It seems to lighten the task of constantly looking out for the immediate needs of themselves and their families, and through cooperation with farmers' organizations and with national and international unions send them to study upon scholarships which would provide for their expenses at this college. It is expected that the young men and women who are becoming leaders in the farmer-labor movement will somehow be able to take the time that is necessary to work at Brookwood.

Training of Secretaries

In addition to the training for leaders there will be provided special courses for teachers of workers' classes, and for trade union secretaries. In this last connection it has been decided that there should be a correspondence course that would bring the college into close relation with the locals throughout the country and enable the men who are elected to the very important posts of secretaries to gain training. The unions need men grounded in office methods, book keeping and the preparation of reports. Possibly it will be necessary to get the aid of travelling auditors of the national and international unions to coach the local officials in the essentials of secretarial work.

Methods of Teaching

As to the methods of teaching, it is felt that the formal instruction of the schools and colleges can be largely dispensed with. In cases where there are gaps to be filled in the students' preliminary education they will receive tutorial instruction. Regular work will consist largely of reading, of discussion in the class-room, and of application of the project method to agricultural and industrial problems. We intend to send students out into actual labor situations, such as strikes, to survey conditions.

Training Researchers

It is felt that a great service can be rendered in training statisticians. Some of the more enterprising unions have engaged men like Jett Lauck to present figures with interpretations before arbitration boards. But these statisticians find they have no body of information to draw upon in time of crisis. It is felt that both the farmers and labor must build up a "shock-proof" stock of facts. They must know their own business thoroughly and be able to state their case convincingly. In order to do this they must create their own research departments as have the industries. It is the hope that Brookwood may help in training researchers. (Applause).

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New York Launches Program

The following will give a view of what had been done in New York prior to and partly during the lockout under most trying circumstances.

1. Mass lectures were given in several districts of the Greater City. In some cases the lectures were illustrated with stereopticon views, prepared for the organization. The evenings set for the lectures rapidly became an event in the social life of the members of the district.

2. A considerable number of local unions, among them many of the largest, such as Local 4 of the cutters and Locals 2 and 5 of the tailors and operators, had special lectures given at their meetings before taking up business. The lectures would be followed by discussion.

3. In several public schools courses in English were instituted, the teachers having been supplied by the public school system. Study classes in other subjects were to have been started, but difficulties with the school authorities regarding the subjects and the language of instruction delayed the matter and then the lockout made any systematic work practically impossible.

4. The union had also established a number of scholarships for its members at the Rand School of Social Science. Twenty-eight part time students enrolled for study under a curriculum worked out by the union and the faculty of the school. The students paid one half of the tuition, the union paying for the second half.

Day College for Unemployed

5. Later in the season a temporary day Labor College was established for sufficiently advanced students among those unemployed because of the lockout. Thirty-five passed the requirements of the board of the college. Instruction was given daily with David Saposs and Solon De Leon in charge. Classes were opened on January 17 and work went on for over a month, when a considerable number of settlements took away their forced leisure from the students. The purpose of the college was stated in the outline as follows:

"The aim of the instruction will be to enable our members better to understand the great social and economic problems, so as to participate more intelligently in the affairs of their union and society. Students will be aided in systematizing their already acquired knowledge, will be introduced to sources of additional information, and trained in methods of intensive study."

The courses offered were as follows:

I. History of Civilization: A study of the beginning of man and society; consideration will be given to the life of primitive man, how he made a living, acquired beliefs and opinions, developed institutions and formed social units. On this background will be traced the evolution of religion, ethics, customs, marriage, property, law, art, and science.

II. Public Speaking: A study of platform methods, use of the voice, preparation of speeches, gathering material, parliamentary practice, and procedure. Attention will also be given to pronunciation and correct use of English.

III. Working Class Movements: Evolutionary development of working class organizations and philosophies in Europe and America. The following subjects will receive special attention: The guild system; early beginning of workers' organizations and philosophies; modern movements like the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor; the I. W. W., One Big Union, and independent unions like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

IV. Economics: Application of the principles of economics to undersanding the industrial and social problems of today. Among the topics treated are the production and distribution of wealth, value and exchange, rent, interest, profits, banking, taxation, advertising, industrial crisis, labor research, and statistics.

6. An Amalgamated Active Workers' Club was organized for the purpose of getting the officials of the organization and the members of all standing governing and legislative committees to take up self-education work. The members of the A. C. W. of A. get together as often as possible for discussion of important problems of a large calibre. Reports were made to the club by such men as Arthur Gleason on "Conditions in the English Labor Movement," by William Z. Foster on the "Inner Working of the A. F. of L.", by Dr. M. J. Olgin on "Trade Unionism in Soviet Russia."

Types of Activity

The general education policy adopted by the Amalgamated is amply summed up in the following points Mr. Joseph Schlossberg made in his paper read before the conference on Workers' Education. (See elsewhere in this report).

the certificate in an appropriate neat frame. The procedure of issuing the certificates should be made as solemn and impressive as possible.

Publishing the Union's Own Literature

The following is approved by the organization in the line of publishing:

1. Preparation of pamphlets (32 page size) covering each a separate phase of the labor movement and its problems. Six pamphlets are off the press and being distributed through the organization channels. They are:

1) How the Union Works
by Paul Blanshard ..... Price 5c.
2) Shake Hands with 200,000
by Paul Blanshard ..... Price 3c.
3) The Open Shop
27 Questions Answered
by Paul Blanshard ..... Price 5c.
4) The Rise of the Clothing Workers
by Joseph Schlossberg ..... Price 10c.
5) Problems of Labor Organization
by Joseph Schlossberg ..... Price 10c.
6) Recent Developments in Trade-Unionism
by George Soule ..... Price 10c.

The following pamphlets and larger books are at present in preparation:

1. The American Federation of Labor.
2. The "Independent" Labor Unions.
3. The A. C. W. of A. and the Labor Movement.
4. Trade Unions in Soviet Russia.
5. Workers' Control of Industry.
6. The A. C. W. of A.—What it is.
7. The American Labor Movement
—A Summary and Outlook.
8. The Member and the Organization.
Rights and Duties.

The larger books in preparation:

1. The Story of the Great Struggle.
2. The Amalgamated Year Book—1922.

The Value of Workers' Education

By William F. Kehoe*

Opposition to Workers' Education

Education is one of the greatest issues now confronting the American Labor Movement. When I say the American Labor Movement I mean all of the labor movements in America. As a member of the Educational Committee of the New York State Federation of Labor, and as one of its vice-presidents, I have had occasion to study the needs of education of the workers and by the workers. There is a nation-wide movement in our country at this time to destroy full education by subsidizing it or regulating it out of existence. I had occasion last week, during my legislative work for the Central Trades and Labor Council of this City, to appear in opposition to the repeal of the Continuation School Bill at Albany, a bill which we fought for years to put upon the statute books of this state. Just as the bill is about to become operative, we have a reactionary legislature which decides to repeal it. Fortunately we beat them.

Central Trades and Labor Council Backs Workers' Education

I know of no service that could be of more good to the workers than education. This is my firm belief, and it is the belief of the Central Trades and Labor Council of this city. Its backing for workers' education means much, for it is the largest labor council within the folds of the American Labor Movement or within the United States of America, for it represents in round numbers 750,000 trade unionists in this city. I feel safe in saying that these 750,000 trade unionists are behind the efforts of this conference to a man. (Applause).

We feel in the Central Trades and Labor Council that you are doing a wonderful work. We want to help you. We want to be taken into your conferences. We do not want anybody to keep the workers of this City divided as they were for years. Even if we

*Secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York.

do disagree, we ought to respect the other fellow's opinion just the same as we want our own respected. We ought to be able to sit down in conference, even though opposed politically, and with different ideas as to what is best for the workers. We will find that our aims are in many cases almost identical, and in the most cases, identical. They are not as different as some people would have you believe.

The Need of Educated Leaders

The statistician and the man with training will be among the leaders of the labor movement, and that in not so far off a period. I make that statement honestly because I have seen it develop in my short time as a leader in the movement. We realize that politics is at best, a bad game. There is no politics that I know of, any more rotten than trade union politics. I suppose the least said about it the better.. New leaders with education and ideals are needed.

The abuse to which labor is now subject would not be attempted by those people antagonistic to the labor movement were unionists educated as well as those who oppose them. They fear brains. One of the greatest weapons that the capitalistic interests have been using for some time, is the injunction. I myself have received within the last year seven injunctions from the proponents of the open shop. Each one of those injunctions is about half the size of a telephone book, and in the same size print. You may well believe that I do not know a minute of the day when I may not be violating something in one of those seven injunctions. (Laughter).

Demand Workers' Education

I remember my father saying to me—and he was a trade unionist of years' standing—"My boy, get an education; no matter how you get it, even if you have to steal it, get it." And I say that the time has arrived for the working people not to steal an education, but to compel the powers that be to give the education to the worker that is his right. I want to promise you again in closing that the Central Trades and Labor Council of this City, representing the vast majority of the workers in this City, will go all the way with you in your attempts to have education for the worker and by the worker. (Applause).

Miners' Problems and Workers' Education

By John Brophy*

Power of Ideas

This Conference believes in the power of ideas. There are people who think that ideas are of little avail. They point to the recent experience that the world has gone through, when force was used without stint, when civilization appeared as if it would crumble, because the power of force seemed to prevail over the power of the idea. But I believe that ideas are constructive and will prevail despite any doubt which the past few years brought. My experience in Central Pennsylvania has convinced me that ideas *are* a power.

The Miners' Union

In the early nineties the miners of Central Pennsylvania were practically unorganized. There were only a few hundred union miners meeting in secret scattered in all that great region, covering some fourteen counties, but these few miners held fast to ideas which were to become a power. Organization had not developed and the conditions that those thousands of miners labored under were bad. They were getting somewhere from 35 to 40 cents a ton for digging coal, and even less for loading it. The day man, the man who was paid by the day, ten hours or longer, was just as bad off. Ventilation in the mines was so bad that the health of the miner was impaired. The small pittance that the miner was able to secure under those conditions was still further decreased because of the company store—the "grab" as it is known in the vernacular of the miner—the store owned and controlled by the operator, at which he was compelled to buy.

In 1899 some twenty or twenty-five men met in the small town of Tyrone in Central Pennsylvania and there decided that it was time to issue an appeal, a manifesto as it were, to the miners to unite to better conditions. As the result of the getting together of that little group of men who called upon the workers to organize and demand better wages and improved conditions, the present union got under way. Local by local was organized, hundreds of men entered the Union, until today there are some 43,000 miners organized in

*President of District 2, United Mine Workers of America.

our district. Organization and ideas were joined. They have improved conditions. They have secured substantial improvements on tonnage rates and on day labor. They have established the eight hour day. The company store with its vicious influences upon the miners is now but a memory. Furthermore, they have instilled in the men the consciousness and desire for a better life. They have instilled into them a consciousness of the power of numbers. They have made them aware of the fact that they are working in an essential industry, and that because the miner is doing necessary work he is entitled to the best the industry can afford.

Nationalization

But ideas and policies once useful have their limitations. The progress of the workers and new conditions demand new ideas and policies. The miner recognizes that the past policies of the United Mine Workers also had their limitations. Expression was given this idea in the 1919 Convention of our International Union at Cleveland when they declared for a six hour day, and a nationalization of the mines. They felt that it was necessary to nationalize the mines not only in the interests of the miner, but in the interests of the public. They felt that only through public ownership and workers' control of the mines could the industry be adjusted to the actual needs of Society. The workers felt that many of the evils of mismanagement could be adjusted through workers' control, and for these reasons the miner is determined that the way out must be through nationalization. From the public standpoint the assurance of a regular supply of coal at a reasonable figure can only come through nationalization of the industry.

Education for Nationalization

There is a favorable sentiment towards nationalization, but it is not conscious; it is not educated fully to the importance of this and the way to get it. This is where workers' education comes in. In order to advance the miners' program, ideas must be put to work. The miners at a District Convention, held in February of this year, decided that in order to secure nationalization education would be required—the education of the membership, and indirectly the education of the public as to the purpose and aims of the miners' movement.

Pamphlets and Press

One of the means of education that will be used by our District Organization will be the spreading of pamphlets and leaflets to famil-

iarize the mine workers with the meaning of nationalization of the mines and excite discussion of the question in all its different phases. That is one way in which we hope to bring about a clearer and better understanding of this question. Another way is a labor press. The Pennsylvania State Federation is interested in the idea of a great state labor daily and the District Organization of which I am privileged to be the head is giving its support in the Pennsylvania Federation to advance that idea into an actuality.

Workers' Classes

These are but two of the methods that can be used to advance this idea of nationalization and workers' control. The other form of education must come through workers' classes. These are necessary not only to advance the general intelligence of the workers but they are necessary in order that the future leaders, the tacticians, the philosophers, if I may use that term, may be developed in order that we may be better fitted to solve the problems of nationalization. Not force, not violence, but the Idea is power, and I am convinced that education will win a better ordered industry and indirectly a better ordered society. It will do that, I am confident, and this Conference is contributing much if out of it comes a permanent educational bureau which will act as an information agency where the experiences of the different groups can be pooled.

This is an important occasion. Just as the previous speaker said, this work means much to the future of the labor movement, and insofar as our District Organization can contribute to the setting up of machinery that will advance workers' education we will do all we can because we believe that is the way out. (Applause.)

The Place of the Film in Labor Education

By Joseph D. Cannon*

The Film Industry

The film industry has made most remarkable strides. Most of us here remember when there were no moving pictures. We saw their

*Director of Labor Film Service, N. Y.

development. First producers were anxious to show us pictures of motion—pictures of rairoad trains, of cows moving in the field, of smoke rising to the sky—and we marveled at the wonderful new invention. Then the industry developed a bit further and they began to make one-reel comedies; that is where the slap-jack films originated and for a while they drew great crowds. Then the moving picture went into one-reel dramas or two-reel dramas. Producers did not attempt to put on the screen the works of the world's great writers, but they wrote special scenarios that would fit the bill. The next step was to dramatize some of the world's great classics which they did with splendid success ten years ago or more.

From then until the beginning of the world war the moving picture industry followed a legitimate line of advance. A whole lot of it did not amount to much. A bit of it may have been vicious but on the whole producers dramatized the world's best works and they did it well. As we look back now we can remember with genuine pleasure some of the great pictures made of Victor Hugo's works, and those pictures of ancient Phœnicia, Pompeii and Rome. Work was well done, without an attempt to use pictures as propaganda.

Pictures as Propaganda

Then with the coming of the World War the real power of the moving picture was discovered. It was found out that it was the most effective propaganda that could be imagined. It speaks a universal language, its action was more convincing than words, it pays for itself and brings in profits. It is far more powerful than the press. The film was used for the purpose of stimulating war fervor, to incite patriotism. The jingo propagandists gave us pictures that were supposed to show our boys on the other side but most of them were "made in America." From that the moving picture was turned to a far more vicious purpose. It fell into the hands of reaction absolutely. Since the war it has been used to fight every progressive measure no matter whence it emanated.

Anti-Bolshevism

The profiteers in patriotism started after the war with anti-Bolshevik pictures. These showed what was supposed to be going on in Russia, including free love. For instance, we would have the ignorant Bolsheviki, selecting the most beautiful women of the nobility for their own special purposes.

Anti-Labor Pictures

Pictures were used extensively to spread a feeling of disgust for everything German as well as Russian. But before we realized it the propagandists classed with these the workers who a few months before were good fellows helping make the world safe for democracy. We had pictures showing the American labor leaders, the kind of men that were talking to you here this evening, sitting in dark corners and out-of-the-way places, drawing lots to find out who would get the pretty daughter of the capitalist or politician or the governor for their own purposes.

Who Pays for Propaganda?

One of these pictures was shown to the delegation of the American Federation of Labor Convention in Montreal by special invitation. The thing has been spread broadcast. The moving picture has been used against labor, and it is one of the most vicious things that is now being used in the open shop drive. As yet labor has not awakened to the possibility that the moving picture offers to them.

And who pays for it? This propaganda is gotten out and we pay to see it. They do not force us to see it but nevertheless we go and pay to see it. While we condemn the propaganda there is still an allurement about the moving picture. We want to see it because it is scientifically and artistically made. We half believe the lies ourselves when we see them so well presented. See how cleverly it is done. We go there; twenty million people a day are going to the pictures.

Labor's Film Service

It is not the purpose of Labor's Film Service to establish a counter propaganda agency because that will kill art. The moving picture must visualize on the screen the works of the world's best writers as they wrote them, not as propagandists rewrite them. They should give both sides of the vital questions of today.

That is education—to give us every side of a question and let people form their own judgments. That is the thing that labor will have to do in the film industry.

Labor News in Films

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does not understand this will blunder, stumble, grope in the dark, will be stunned by unexpected blows, may succeed temporarily but will fail in the long run. The union that does understand this will see its way clearly, will not be overwhelmed by the vicissitudes of the class struggle and will know exactly whither it is going.

Self-Education of Workers

But it must be understood that education cannot be given to the workers from the outside or from above. They must take it for themselves. It might sound paradoxical to say that workers, who have been kept in ignorance all their lives are to educate themselves. Yet, on the whole, that is so. The institutions of learning outside of the labor movement are, as a rule, of two kinds: those which are handing out education to the workers in a patronizing spirit, and those which deliberately seek to miseducate and misinform the worker. Both must be rejected. The education required by the workers must be provided by the labor movement itself and in this task the labor movement will be glad to avail itself of the knowledge which men of learning are willing to place at its disposal. For a time the universities kept on increasing the teaching staff of the labor movement by expelling some of the best professors.

Evolution of Workers' Education

Let us trace the broad and general outline of the educational element in the industrial labor organization. At the outset, the labor union organizer undertakes to educate the workers in the need of organization. That education is very simple; it is really agitation. Only those who are capable intellectually, morally or spiritually of responding to that appeal join the organization.

Education Through Industrial Changes

In the course of time the labor union finds itself out of harmony with the development of organization in industry. Machines and methods of industrial management do not gather at annual conventions to determine jurisdictional disputes. While they are steadily and freely changing and evolving toward more scientific and efficient methods and easily responding to every advantageous innovation, the labor organization does not automatically respond to the need of such changes. Force of habit, preference for the old and fear of the new, and other causes, work against adopting new methods. More educa-

tion is required in order to secure a grasp of the new situation and understand that the labor organization, in order to function successfully, must adapt itself to changes in industry; that the craft union must become an industrial organization. This education, too, is furnished by the labor movement. The organization that avails itself of it succeeds; the one that neglects it does it as its own peril.

Education in Politics

Also in the course of our experience we find that the labor organization is hampered in its legitimate activities by the political agencies of society; by the law makers and other public officials. That brings a new kind of education for the workers, which it is likewise dangerous to disregard. Thus the Taff-Vale decision, more than hundreds of volumes on the necessity of political action, has served to build up a powerful Labor Party in England.

Ultimate Aims

But a point is reached where the labor organization finds itself greatly handicapped because of an entirely different reason. So long as the organization is moving from an organization attempt to a real rganization; from low wages to higher wages, from long hours to shorter hours, and from rightlessness to rights, the organization may always point to an immediately attainable purpose to justify the union's existence. Having attained these, the union must go on. This situation dictates a much broader and deeper education. Here the workers must be fully enlightened upon the great social problem, the cause of the raging class struggle and the final aim of the labor movement. Only then will the present phenomenon become intelligible. Otherwise the workers must be dazed by what they see today and find no real purpose in the labor organization and the labor movement.

The New Society

True education will show the workers that present conditions are no accident and that the labor organization has an ultimate purpose—the emancipation of labor from the commodity and wages status—which is not affected by the ups and downs in the daily skirmishes of the class struggle. That brings us clearly to the issue of the transition of society from the old order to the new. The more we drift into that period the greater the responsibility resting upon the workers, there-

fore the more imperative the intelligent understanding of those responsibilities. Upon all of those matters the worker who is to be useful in the labor movement must be enlightened.

Social Education

Industrial development compelled the inauguration of the public school system. In a highly developed industrial country like ours, a worker cannot bring his full usefulness to his master unless he can read and write. In the same manner have we arrived at a time in the labor movement when education—more than the three Rs—is indispensable. Not the education which will teach correct grammar, although that should by all means be done wherever possible.

But not many of those who had no opportunity of learning grammar in childhood will have the patience to learn it at an advanced age. The education the worker must get now, even if we must put up with faulty grammar, is the education which cannot be taught in childhood, and which can be taught to mature minds only—social education. That education for the worker in the labor movement today, as the builder of a new social order, is as important as medical education for a practicing physician. Systematic labor education is still in an experimental stage in this country. So far there has been but scant encouragement. But this much, at least, may be said of the trade union as an educator of its members. Thanks to the influence of the trade union, the average organized worker is on a considerably higher level of intelligence than the average unorganized worker.

Education for Officials

Some labor organizations have the wise custom of requiring candidates for office to submit to an examination by a board of competent examiners as to the fitness of those candidates. It has been my observation that these examinations have raised the intelligence of the officers. The preparation for those examinations has proved to be a liberal education for them. They and the organization benefited by it.

The law of self-preservation dictates the trade unions to make the education of their members a part of their daily routine.

The Pressing Need of Labor Education

By James H. Maurer*

Understanding American Labor

I do not know whether, or not, you New Yorkers fully understand the American Labor Movement. I doubt whether you understand the working people of the United States. You may think that, because you live in America's largest city, you know all about the conditions under which and with which Labor must contend. And it is because I chance to know just a little about how you New Yorkers live and work that I suspect that you are not as well informed as you may think you are.

How many of us, here to-night, understand the working and living conditions as they affect the armies of men who work in America's steel infernos, the hundreds of thousands who work in the dark, damp, gaseous depths of the earth, where those who do the hardest work receive the smallest pay, work the longest hours and have the biggest families, where many men are old and ready to be scrapped at forty, where more are killed and maimed every year, during times of peace, than were lost by the American armies during the big war, where, to demand redress, is branded as "seditious", where civil liberty does not exist and constitutional guarantees are looked upon as a joke by the constituted authorities?

I refer to these grievances and conditions which are, in a manner, general throughout the United States and yet, by the nature of the industries naturally different from New York, so that we who have gathered here will keep in mind that we must work out a program of education applicable to the whole nation.

Leaders Must Co-operate

Union officials and labor leaders must be trained in team work. In my experience in the Labor Movement, which dates back forty years, I found that whenever there are a few fairly well-informed heads in a union, the few steer the others safely over the shoals. The majority soon recognizes the brighter, or better-informed minds in their organization and gladly listen to and accept advice from such.

*President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

Education for Control

The present industrial system is crumbling to pieces. What have we to take its place? To me it looks as though we don't have anything. The so-called captains of industry and finance seem helpless. The money situation, the railroad situation—in fact, the whole political, financial and industrial machine seems to be working on one-cylinder with a cracked spark-plug and choked muffler.

We hear a lot of talk among some well-meaning people that the workers will run things; that we are going to democratize industry and that the co-operative commonwealth will soon be with us. Well, it may when the victims of our present order say so. But, we are not going to get a chance to say so until we are able to demonstrate that we are prepared to make a better job than those who are running things now.

In my mind, it would be most unfortunate if the workers were to, suddenly, find themselves in possession of industry and the government. Understanding the limitations of the workers as I do, I feel satisfied that, unless a certain number of us, at least, are properly prepared, we, the workers, will make just as big and possibly a greater mess out of things than what the present managers are guilty of doing. And this is another reason why I am strongly in favor of workers' education.

I have great hopes in this educational work, or I would not be here to-night. My hope is that we will develop, in our labor union schools, men and women who are going to take hold of things—people trained in all branches of activities affecting their welfare.

A Labor Daily

Most of our day-by-day education comes from the press, owned or controlled by the interests responsible for our industrial chaos. To help get people thinking right, we must have our own press.

In Pennsylvania, we hope to establish a great daily paper. We have in mind a newspaper, not a propaganda sheet. We want a paper, owned and controlled by Organized Labor and one that prints the news. Think of wanting an English paper that prints the news! (Laughter).

The farmers must also be looked after, because the Chambers of Commerce have, for some time, been busy with them. Not long ago, they had their emmissaries among the farmers, trying to convince them that our industrial and political ills were all due to high wages

and the arrogance of Organized Labor and that, before prosperity was again possible, the Unions had to be crushed.

The rest of the paper will be devoted to telling the news as truthfully as we know how and you keep telling it that way and establish a reputation for veracity—truth, truth, truth. Keep that up until the people learn that this paper prints the truth. Then the paper will be a power for good. Let the capitalist sheets come along with their lies and let them try to hypnotize the people. Our readers will say, "Wait until the Keystone Daily comes out," (or whatever we call it), "and we will see what it says." What it says will be accepted as truth and that will undermine the capitalist sheet. The very fact that that will be so will mean that the other papers will have to be more decent. You are a big city, but I want ot tell you that your papers are far more decent and fair than they are in Pennsylvania. That is because you have "The Call" here. If you did not have "The New York Call", you would not get the same kind of treatment that we get in Pennsylvania.

Training Workers for the Union

While the moving pictures and the press are important, we must have labor study classes. We must have intelligent committee members and intelligent discussions on the floor of the local union. We must take care of our membership and bring about the education necessary. When the local unions want a committee, they must have a competent one. We will take care of these fellows who have never read a book on economics. In Harrisburg, two years ago, Mr. Epstein started a study class of half a dozen members of unions. In that class were two men. One of them was a bricklayer and the other, a machinist. The machinist is here to-night. Well, that bricklayer was a very quiet fellow and unassuming. I do not think he could speak a dozen connected words on his feet, if he tried to do so. He never read a book on anything profound and I do not know that he read a book on anything else. And yet, after one season in class, what happened? The bricklayer read a number of books during the winter months, and scientific works—wonderful for a man like that. To-day he is the business agent for his union and, when on his feet, he can defend any subject or oppose it in an intelligent manner. The machinist, who is here to-night, has, perhaps, had the advantage of a little more education, but not much more, and he is, to-day, holding down a fine position as the field worker for an organization that

is allied with the Federation in our educational work among the miners.

The work of education is peaceful in purpose, but you can look for trouble. There is going to be legislation, just as there is in Albany, and as there is in Harrisburg, to outlaw our unions. There will be legislation coming along that will attempt to make it ever so difficult for us to continue our study classes. In Reading they would not give us school houses, unless we gave up our teachers. If they give us the instructors, we might as well not have classes. We won't accept their instructors and so we cannot use the school building. There will be legislation coming along to force us, perhaps, to hide to finish our studies. While we still have a right to go ahead, let us make all the headway we can. If we get a big lead, they won't dare to stop these workers' colleges. Workers' education is the hope of the labor movement; it may be of great service to the cause of adult education.

THIRD SESSION

SUNDAY, APRIL 3, 1921, 2 P. M.

THE STUDENT AND WORKERS' EDUCATION

The Student and Workers' Education

J. M. Budish, *Chairman*

Importance of the Pupil

The Chairman: The special business of this session is the problem of the student in workers' education. What I will say just before introducing the speakers is this: that in our educational work the student is really everything. He is the teacher as well as the student, since he has the same authority as the teacher, and gives and takes in discussion as does the teacher. He provides the funds and it depends a great deal upon the students to get the organization to provide the necessary funds. To my mind what the students are going to say here is really the most important part of our proceedings.

What Subjects of Study Are of Most Practical Value to the Workers?

By J. R. Copenhaver*

As a student of one of the classes I will attempt to tell you what, in my opinion, are the most valuable and practical subjects of study for the workers. I wish to mention three subjects, each with many sub-divisions and branches, that I believe are of real value to most of the workers throughout the country.

Economic History

The first subject I shall speak of and to me one of the most interesting studies is "The revolution of industry and industrial development." This course should show the student the gradual development of industry from the period when primitive methods of manufacturing were the only means of production known, until through the invention and development of power-driven machinery with its gigantic modern methods of production.

Industrial Technique

We must learn how to develop the natural resources, and how to obtain raw materials at the least expense. We must study the transportation problems and markets—American and foreign, the banking and credit systems. We must understand the causes that underlie the present factory system, with its efficiency methods of production and labor management—piece work, bonus and premium systems in factories and their effect upon child and woman labor—sweat shops and the employer's latest move, the open shop.

Education for Control

Such a study is essential in view of the fact that the workers, the world over, are demanding continually that they be given a great part in the management and operation of industry, as well as a larger share of the receipts of industry. It is, therefore, necessary that we familiarize ourselves with the various methods of industrial management, to the end that when the opportunity presents itself, we will be capable of conducting business affairs efficiently and to the advantage of all, so that there can be no reaction because of our inability.

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*Member of the Machinists' Union, Harrisburg, Penn.

Some of the employers think that they are the most important part. It is just as necessary for the workers to know how important they are; let them study their part. It is also very necessary that workers should know how the financial part of an industry is being carried on. I do not know how soon the workers in this country will have to carry on the industrial enterprises on their own account, but it is very necessary for us to know how. We must know all about production, also. If we are to take hold of all industrial enterprises we must know how to carry them on. Transportation and management must also be studied.

Labor Movement

Now as to the study of the labor movement. It is of immediate necessity for the worker to know the history of the labor movement and how it stands today because it broadens out the mind of the worker. Where workers are interested only in their own industry they cannot see the thing as well as when they have a knowledge of various industries outside of their own.

Law of Labor

We live in a time when law is being worshipped. We have to know the various laws of picketing, injunctions and all such legal problems.

Teaching

We know that workers after a day's work want to have a little recreation and go to the picture show or do other things for relaxation, and especially those who sit at work cannot be expected to go to class and sit again. It is very necessary for the teachers to become students of their own classes, and find out which is the most agreeable and suitable way to give workers education. (Applause).

The Value of Workers' Education

By Chris Sproger*

Capitalist Education

I believe it no exaggeration to say that the education the great mass of the workers receive in their youth is but elementary, such as reading, writing, arithmetic and a bit of history. The history taught is mainly certain events in the lives of conspicuous characters

*Student in Pennsylvania Labor Education Committee's classes in Bethlehem, Pa. and of Journeyman Tailors' Union.

to celebrate their political successes and record their wars. It is given to cultivate good-will toward those now in power. Such educated ignorance leads the mass of the workers to think that the present order of society, with its scheme of things as they are, has been established by some supernatural power and therefore cannot be changed.

Workers' Education

But by the study of history from an economic viewpoint the student in the workers' educational classes soon overcome this way of thinking. In classes he not only learns of the long and bitter struggle of the workers from slavery toward freedom, but he gains practical knowledge of the moving economic forces underlying such struggles. Study of the history of the labor movement and the intensive study of the problems which confront the workers today lead the student to question the teaching which says that a few men were created to enjoy life at the expense of the many, and that the present social system cannot be changed. He feels the need of a new social order; in fact, he sees it coming, and will become a factor in ushering in the new day.

Civic Education

The old idea that the affairs of the government are beyond the understanding of the workers is also overcome in workers' classes. The student is taught the business of the government and its institutions and the right and duties of the workers as citizens in the affairs of the state. This broadens his mind and gives him a better understanding of social relations. The prevailing individualistic psychology ceases to exist in the mind of the student. He begins to think and act, guided by the knowledge of the need of solidarity; therefore, the value of the workers' education cannot be overestimated.

Education of Leaders

The workers' educational classes also benefit those men and women who are directing the affairs of organized labor in their respective localities by way of performing their duties as officers of their locals. The training and education they receive at these classes makes them more efficient in the duties intrusted to them by their fellow workers.

New Social Order

Above all, the education that one receives at these classes gives the worker an understanding of life and the hope of remoulding the

stead of speaking of how the boss will try to get the best of us—we do think that sometimes—we speak of economics. Why is he gambling? Why is he slow in the factory? We are not a bit surprised that we have nothing to do in the factory. When we begin to know the reasons why and ask questions, I believe we will begin to solve problems. If we know why we have to work, why the doors of the colleges are closed to us, why we are limited to a certain time for our education and for our pleasure, and begin to ask those questions, I believe that this will do a great deal to bring about real social progress.

The Training of Labor Leaders

By Harry Russell*

Education for Leadership

I believe there is a lot for all of us to learn, especially those of us who hold or wish to hold responsible positions in the labor movement. It is we that have to go to the continuation schools. It is those of us who hold the highest ranking positions in the labor movement, especially those who aspire in any way to take the leadership in the American labor movement; who must take up a more scientific study of our problems. The labor leader to-day must be a more educated person, a more scientific person in his particular vocation, for it is really a vocation now, to be a business agent or a business manager, and there are many subsidiary positions such as the statistician and the labor lawyer, which require great skill and knowledge. The working class to-day is without proper presentation largely because of the lack of leaders. It is a sad thing, but it is nevertheless true.

It is my hope in the labor college movement, that we can take those who now constitute our leaders, put them to the test and if they do not prove worthy through a qualification of intelligence and ability to handle the labor problems as they confront us, and offer some policy or program to lead the workers, then we must produce new people, younger people. We must therefore prepare ourselves through some educational institution in various parts of the country to make this thing possible. This is what we are aiming to do in Springfield. (Applause).

*Student in the Amherst classes for workers, Springfield, Mass.

business agents than previously. Those of New York know the old regime and the new regime. That is what the classes in 1914 did for us.

Class Room Freedom

Our students like to go to their classes because they were not the kind they had been used to attending in the public schools. They went to the latter in order to learn English, but instead they were taught how to love the flag. It is very well to bring in patriotism in a class but when teachers forget their subjects, they forget the object for which the people are going to school. The pupils liked our classes because they felt free to express themselves there. They did not feel afraid of the teachers, they did not feel that the teachers were going to report them, or that the teachers were different from them. They felt that the teachers were imbued with the same spirit as they were.

Finance

At the workers university, to speak for myself, I would say that I have learned a great deal in my course in economics. I never, for instance, knew what was going on in Wall Street. I knew there was gambling going on (laughter), I knew they were making something, but I did not know what they were manufacturing—wealth or money —in such a funny way as they do. (Laughter). And they rather had my sympathy because many times they lose their heads. Previous to that I had no sympathy for Wall Street. Anybody that was gambling I had no respect for and no sympathy. Not that I have any more respect for them now but I can sympathize with them because they too do not understand. (Laughter.)

Literature

We also had a class in literature from which I personally gained a great deal, and I know there are students who love that class and love that teacher. I do not hesitate to go to anybody now and say, "Come to the literature class for a good time." When they come they not only study but they enjoy themselves at the same time.

And I believe that the workers need a great deal of such joy because we have very little pleasure: I believe that this does a great deal for the workers. (Applause.) This new interest really brings in an added comradeship and friendship for now we have something more in common. Instead of speaking in the shop of the customers, or the tools, or the dresses that we make, we speak of literature. In-

successfully combat the active ignorance of unscrupulous employers. For ignorance is a disease that is death and darkness to the mind. Education is the timely stimulant that will effect a cure. Our future is a great adventure; an adventure we must prepare ourselves for. That does not simply mean to learn the ideals of today; we must train ourselves to make the ideals of tomorrow. With this idea in mind, the educational committee of the Boston Central Labor Union established our college.

Trade Union College of Boston

I have attended this college from its very beginning. I first believed that college was a step too high for one who left school at fourteen to enter the coal industry. I was born in a bin and raised on the wharf. But I have been gladly disillusioned. I now fully know that it was the best and far from the hardest step I have taken. I probably could not say this if it were not for the sincere way in which the professors taught us. To Dr. Dana and Dr. Sheffield we owe special gratitude. Our professors believe that education should not be the property of the few, but the right of all who wish to acquire it. The enthusiasm of the lecture room, the contagious interest of companionship, have made the students feel, in a measure at least, that they were partners in their teacher's work. For a curriculum is meaningless if your teachers and students are not one in spirit.

Students' Control

I am pleased to say that our college is a most democratic institution. That is, control is vested in three bodies; namely, the teaching staff, members of the Central Labor Union, and the student body. The student body in a real sense, has a control of the courses to be taught and of those who are to teach them. We will not accept propoganda or canned knowledge. The association has a will of its own.

Pupils Choose Course in Finance

One of the outstanding achievements the association has to its credit is the fact that it assumed the responsibility of starting a class in banking and credit. That is, several of the students visited a meeting of the Building Trades Housing Council—a venture in co-operative housing construction—and so interested the men that thirty of them signed up, and twenty-eight attended regularly as students. As a further result, today we have a Union Workers' Credit Union; and a National Trust Company to act as the source of building loans

Education and the Class Struggle

By H. ZUKOFFSKY*

The Class Struggle

For the worker-student the chief thing we have got to do is to teach him the importance of class struggle. If workers' education will therefore have one aim in mind we will get somewhere. We should always have in mind that there is a class war and keep teaching the worker along that line. If we do it, we will progress. If we will not, this educational body will simply remain midde-class, some kind of a bourgeois institution that will never get the confidence of the rank and file. If we want to progress and succeed we have got to do that: go to the worker and give him what he needs. What he needs most is the abolition of the present system. (Applause.)

Democracy in Industry and Education

By FRANK FENTON**

Self-Government in Industry

If the labor movement is to endure, it must map out a new policy. That is self evident to every student of the labor movement. Our leaders must stop telling us of their accomplishments in the past and must think of what we need in the present and future. Labor orthodoxy in the main has stood for a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. If our leaders believe that is all that the workers of the future desire they are misinformed. We want and demand self-government in industry. We like to boast about our political and religious freedom, but we never can be a true democracy until we have an industrial democracy firmly grounded on the pillar of unionism.

Dangers of Ignorance

We who are in the labor movement must be big and broad enough to realize that within our ranks lies a vast amount of ignorance. This ignorance amongst ourselves must be fought before we can

*Student in the Boston Trade Union College.

**Student in the Boston Trade Union College.

attend your work which will be at once easy and new. NO RESULT IS EASY WHICH IS WORTH HAVING." Your education begins when you have begun yourselves to cut from the raw material for the results which you do not see, cannot predict, and which may be long in coming. No man has earned the right to intellectual ambition until he has learned to lay his course by a star which he has never seen."

Our leaders should not forget that the measure of the value of a class to the nation or to the world is neither the bushel nor the barrel but the mind, and that wheat and pork, though useful and necessary, are but mere dross in comparison with the intellectual products which alone are unperishable. (Applause.)

The Old and the New Education

By George W. Snyder*

The workers are creating a new education. The aim of this new education is to prepare the worker for complete living. To live completely means to be as useful as possible and to be happy. To be happy one must enjoy both his work and his leisure. Too many of us think of workers' education as if it meant only to learn to read, write, and use a few figures.

Education of the Privileged

It is an undisputed fact that only about fourteen out of every 1,000 have the opportunity to acquire a college education under our present system. Often these fourteen college trained men are taught to be cunning and to take advantage of their 986 brethren who have not had the privilege of getting such a training. These college bred men fill our pulpits, edit our papers and magazines, fill our executive positions, and generally are members of our legislatures and make our laws.

Control of Press and Pulpit

The men occupying the pulpits mould the minds of many men and women, while the editors of daily papers and magazines feed their readers "bunk," covering practically every home. They get them to think just as the privileged classes want them to think. The fact that nearly all colleges and universities are endowed shows that the men

*Musicians' Union, Reading, Pa.

who are an influence can and without a doubt do dictate the policies that are to be followed and the courses that are to be taught.

Public School Propaganda

This mode of teaching is then passed on to the teachers of grade schools and the children of the workers are fed with this line of thought for the few years that they are in school, before necessity forces them into industries of the different localities. Thus the larger number are deprived of the means of intelligence, though born with a capacity for it, and they are really compelled by the smaller and cunning number, through the exercise of superior training, to serve them without sufficient compensation.

Workers' Education

This does not mean, however, that workers cannot bestir themselves and find a way out. If they will get together and shorten their work day and take their spare time for study they can correct many of these evils. Workers must not think that because they are taken out of school that they have to cease all efforts for knowledge. As long as man is not too old to play, he is not too old to learn.

Native Ability of Workers

Present day education seems built on the belief that the worker has no ability. Most people have an idea that ability is an invariable quality. As a matter of fact human ability is very elastic. It can be expanded or contracted in a great many ways. It is like an accordeon which the player draws out sometimes to its fullest extent and then again closes it completely. Therefore we should ever strive to make our conditions such in life as to live life to its fullest. This is the aim of the new workers' education.

A little class here, and a little class in Maine, a little class in Boston, a little class in Philadelphia, one in Chicago, one in Cleveland, will act just like the little springs up in the mountains. Finally, through our efforts we will emerge into a stream of education that will bring life to the workers. (Applause.)

Introducing the Pupil to the Class

By Mary Goff*

The Newcomer

The chief reason for my entering one of the classes of the East Side Unity Center was to improve and enlarge my vocabulary. I wanted to speak English correctly. However, when I came into class the atmosphere that prevailed there inspired me to do more than that; that is, to help every newcomer who came to the class, in giving him the necessary information, in helping him to enter the class he is most fitted for, in speaking to him after the class, asking him what he thought of the teacher, how he liked the text book and whether he thought the class too elementary or too high, and speak to the teacher after the period, and in general see that the student is put in the proper place.

Sometimes the student in our classes feels very much embarrassed by not possessing a good command of English or because he feels himself a stranger. These things we are overcoming. They are frequent occurrences in the public schools. When I came to this country twelve years ago, I entered an evening school to learn English. After sitting in the classroom for about fifteen minutes I heard the teacher calling the roll. I did not know the meaning of "absent" or "present," so I just sat there and waited to learn something. We had been wasting quite some time because of the one pupil who did not answer the roll, and I happened to be that one. I did not know what to say, and the teacher was quite upset, and we learned nothing during that period. She was looking for the pupil who did not answer. Finally one of the students got up and said, "Teacher, this greazer's name is Mary Goff," and although I didn't know the meaning of the word "greezer," I felt it was offensive, and naturally I was awkward for a long time.

Most of these little things do not occur in our classes. We feel that the teacher is not only there to take us into her confidence, but to talk to us as a friend and to understand our needs.

I am sure that the Union is not only a source from which we draw benefits in dollars and cents, but a place where we learn more about the labor movement and about the worth while life. (Applause.)

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*International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, New York.

The Engine of Workers' Education

By Harry Hillmer*

We have built up trade unions, one after another. We have built a machine, an engine if you please. We have organized the local labor unions, we have organized central bodies and we have organized our national bodies. Now we are putting on the finishing touches. We have created the educational bureau which is necessary to complete the engine. Now the duty of the student in the classroom is to educate himself, to make the utmost use of this machinery. (Applause.)

The Working Girl and Labor Education

By Jennie Matyos**

Saved by Grace

Very often I stood at the Salvation Army meetings and heard the music, and after the music someone gets up and says: "I used to was a bum two years ago, and I joined the Salvation Army and look at me now." And so I feel like saying: "I used to was only a poor ignorant working girl, and then I went to the classes, and look at me now." (Laughter.)

Getting Educated

Comrade Maurer last night said something that I was going to say today, and since a great man said it, I think I have the privilege to repeat it. He said, "I did not go to school like many of you. I was sorry, I thought it was an unfortunate thing, but now I have changed my mind. I did not have so much to undo."

Entering Industry

I did not go to school like many of you. I went to work when I was fourteen and I thought it was a terrible thing then, and my teacher asked me if I did not prefer to continue to go to school, and I was going to be a regular girl, the stereotyped girl. Although it hurt me I said I would rather go to work and help support my family.

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*Member of the Painters' Union.

**Student in International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Social Education

But as we grow older we do want a social education. We want to know the things the ordinary school does not tell us about. When I read ancient history and was told that Nebuchadnezzer (or whatever that fellow's name was), built the hanging gardens for the mistress he liked, I thought he was a wonderful man, such a chivalrous man, but now when I think of the number of slaves that built those gardens, I want to know what was the price those slaves paid for the caprice of one man and for the caprice of one woman.

Education Versus Inspiration

When we listen to soap box orators and to ordinary trade union organizers we become inspired. Our emotions are aroused and we say, "Down with the boss and up with the workers." But it does not get us anywhere. After a while when all our enthusiasm is gone, when the curtain of illusion is torn from our eyes, we must have real knowledge in order to be able to keep up the bitter fight.

We want education, the real kind, not the taffy, not the sugar-coated stuff. We want the education in regard to the struggle of the worker and how to meet it in an intelligent and practical way. (Applause.)

FOURTH SESSION

SUNDAY, APRIL 3, 1921, 8.00 P. M.

THE TEACHER and WORKERS' EDUCATION

The Teacher and Workers' Education

PROFESSOR H. W. L. DANA,* *Chairman*

Greetings from Europe

I do not know whether all of you here tonight realize that the action which has been put into effect today—the organization of this Workers' Education Bureau of America—is going to be watched with very great interest by a great many bodies of people across the Atlantic Ocean. I had occasion last summer to spend three months studying the labor education movement in England, in France and in Germany. In England, when I spoke at the different summer schools of the W. E. A. of what was being done here by the different separate organizations, they were very much interested, and at each meeting before the close I was asked to bring back to one and all of these various educational enterprises in America the most hearty greetings from the labor education movement in Great Britain.

France

In France it was perhaps even more touching. In going around and speaking to the various groups of the working men in my very imperfect French, trying to explain to them about the movements you have been engaged in here in one place or another, it was refreshing to see how keenly they sympathized with your efforts, how keenly they were interested in all you were doing, and how keenly they are going to watch what you do in the future. I assure you, that though they do not know you, those people engaged in the labor education movement in France and those working men attending those classes, love you. You could see it in their eyes when one told them about the movement here.

The W. E. B.

Above all, however, in England, in France and in Germany I found them asking the question: Why is it that you do not organize and unite your various efforts in America? I explained the great

*Teacher, Boston Trade Union College.

difficulties of our large distances between our various undertakings, but I promised them that we should try to see that our movement in America was organized in some such way as has at last come into existence here today, and I remember suggesting to the W. E. A. in England that I should try to see that our movement in America was called by a somewhat similar title, a fraternal title—and so I feel sure that the W. E. A., which is not merely in Great Britain but in Australia and now in Canada, will be very glad to hear of the formation of this W. E. B. in America.

Greetings to Europe.

As it happens, the secretary who was elected this afternoon, is to sail in a few days to make a study of labor conditions and education in England in order that he may return after a few weeks to devote himself to this work in this country. Ample provision has been made for his work to be done during his weeks of absence but I am sure he will come back from Europe with further inspiration and suggestions for us to carry on our work here. And I should like to suggest that if it is your pleasure here tonight, we ask our scretary to take from this body here some greetings to similar undertakings in Europe. If then I may have your approval for that, I shall ask our secretary, Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., to take with him the greetings of the Workers' Education Bureau of America to the Workers' Education Association of England and the other labor educational movements with which he comes in contact abroad. (Applause.)

Labor's Challenge to Education

I should like to close by quoting for you a very remarkable statement of Henry de Man, the Belgian labor educator. The remark he made was that at the present moment labor is sending its challenge to three different things. It is sending its challenge to industry, to politics and to education. When labor goes on strike, it says to its master, "I will no longer work at your command." When labor forms a political party of its own it says to its master, "I will no longer vote at your command," and when labor forms trade union colleges and classes of its own, it says to its master, "I will no longer think at your command." And it is labor's challenge to education that is the most fundamental of the three. (Applause).

Methods of Pedagogy in Workers' Education

By Professor L. M. Crosgrave*

Provoking Thought

The big problem of all teachers, whether in trade union colleges or not, is how to cause students really to exercise their mental faculties. Only as the result of enthusiastic intellectual activity on the part of the student can he really derive benefit from the instruction that is offered him. There is a strong tendency on the part of students to avoid to a greater or lesser degree this essential mental activity. In this respect students do not differ from human beings in general. For practically everyone the performing of mental labor is an arduous, and in many cases even a painful, process. Yet it is only by thought that human progress is possible and it is probably more essential in the twentieth century than ever before, and will become more and more essential as time goes on.

The chief problem of the teacher in a trade union class, then, is how to bring it about that those under his instruction really shall think.

The Problem for the Teachers of Workers

His task in this respect is probably easier than that of the instructor in the ordinary college. For one thing, his students are, on the average, more advanced in age than are ordinary college students, and they realize more fully their need for an education. In the second place, they for the most part comprehend to begin with the serious nature of the social, political and economic problems that confront the world at the present time, and they are willing in consequence to work hard in classes dealing with history, economics, sociology, law or government. In the third place, the workers' college is, so far as America is concerned, a new institution and has not collected about it those traditions that sometimes interfere with the efficiency of instruction in our institutions of higher learning. Among these is the great emphasis that has from time immemorial been placed upon grades, examinations, diplomas, etc., as an incentive to study—an incentive which at best is an artificial one and the useful-

*Teacher in University of Pittsburg and the Pittsburg Trade Union College.

ness of which is being seriously questioned by many of our leading educators.

Nevertheless, the teacher in the workers' college, like the teacher in any other institution of learning, must strive to the utmost to create in the minds of his students a desire and a willingness really to think. His task is not an easy one. How shall he perform it?

The Teacher Must be a Student

It goes without saying, in the first place, that he himself must be an enthusiastic student. It is probably impossible for one who is himself unwilling to undergo the strain and stress of mental labor to instill in others a feeling of what they should do so. The first rule to be followed by the teacher, then, is to give much time and much energy to the earnest study of the subject he is endeavoring to teach. He must do this because he realizes how little he really knows about it. He must do this because he is aware that in order to teach the subject successfully he must know much more about it than he expects to teach and that his knowledge must be an expanding one.

The Teacher Must Know His Pupils

It goes without saying, in the second place, that the teacher must know his students. He must as soon as possible become familiar with their past experiences, with their plans for the future, with their social ideals, etc., and must decide, jointly with them, what lines of instruction will be of most benefit to them. More care will in most cases be needed in this direction by the teacher in the workers' classes than by one in the ordinary college because the students in the former will be less "standardized"—they will not have had as uniform previous training as have regular college students.

Grades

In the third place, care must be used in the employment of "grades" and "examinations." As stated above, it is possible to emphasize these as an incentive to study to a degree that will actually decrease the genuine interest which students should feel in the subject for its own sake. Too often the student comes to feel, even more clearly than he is naturally inclined to, that intellectual work is very unpleasant and is a thing to be undertaken only for some external reward—for the "grade" and the "diploma". Indeed it is impossible that in all cases where it is possible, the use of grades should be avoided

entirely. Examinations may well be employed as a means of permitting the student to test the efficiency of the work he has been doing, but they probably should be written at home in order that the limited time available for meetings of the class should not be consumed by them.

Emphasize Social Welfare

In the fourth place it will be well, doubtless, to emphasize social welfare as a motive for intellectual activity, rather than individual welfare or at any rate in addition to individual welfare.

Workers' Classes an Educational Laboratory

In these and in other ways that might be mentioned, the pedagogy of workers' college classes is not essentially different from that in any class. On this account, the trade union colleges, in addition to the numerous other benefits that may be expected to come from their installation, may be of the greatest service to general education in the country. Since they are new, they are not hampered by the traditions of the ordinary college. The teacher in a labor college is freer than are most teachers to adopt new methods of instruction. Once the use fulness of the new methods is demonstrated, they will tend to be adopted even in the older types of institutions. (Applause.)

Obstacles in the Way of Labor Education

By C. J. Hendley*

In any undertaking it is, of course, important to understand the obstables that lie in the way. I have not had an opportunity to read the thorough study of the difficulties in the way of adult education that has been made by the British Committee on Adult Education of the Reconstruction Ministry.** I have attempted merely to make a instructor of labor classes. The obstacles are graded with the least important first and the more important last.

Lack of Funds

The most obvious obstacle, but one which we may consider the least formidable, is the lack of funds available for labor education.

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*Instructor, Department of Education, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

**Great Britain Reconstruction Ministry of Labor Conditions and Adult Education, London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1919, 19p.

The promoters of this work often have to torment its prospective supporters in order to get a few dollars; some individuals and organizations contribute more money than they are able; others resort to all sorts of desperate schemes to raise the funds they have promised, while still others flatly refuse to give even a mite that would not be missed from their treasuries. On the other hand, labor unions often spend money liberally for purposes much less important than education. Hence, this obstacle is not so much a lack of funds as it is a lack of the will to raise the funds.

Incidentally, I would say that our experience has been that it is more satisfactory to secure funds for this work directly from the local unions than to obtain it all from central bodies. When funds are solicited directly from the locals and contributed out of their treasuries, the membership becomes more vitally interested in the work than if some central authority assumed the whole burden.

Lack of Equipment

Modern methods of education require considerable equipment. This is especially true of workers' education. Desks, blackboards, charts, diagrams, pictures, text-books, note-books, and the like are almost indispensable. Some of these things are available in the public school rooms that are open to our classes. But, in many localities the public school facilities are denied us, and the labor union halls do not have the more or less expensive equipment that we need.

For class rooms, I prefer union halls with poor equipment to school buildings with good equipment. A sense of freedom is gained by both students and teachers which is worth more than charts, blackboards and other accessories. We cannot expect the school boards, that are composed almost entirely of business men to permit much freedom of discussion of the current social and economic problems by labor classes.

Other necessities we might mention are the typewriter and the mimeograph. These are almost indispensable for we have need of so much material that must be supplied currently as the classes meet, such as outlines, references, statistics, syllabi, etc. And the lantern slide and picture film have unlimited possibilities in our work. I have a theory that the social sciences can be taught as effectively by means of the film and slide as astronomy, geography, biology and the physical sciences; I am hoping to be able to test my theory by actual demonstration some day. The supplying of equipment, however, is contingent

upon the raising of funds; and the raising of funds is contingent upon interest in education. Hence, we may consider the obstacles I have mentioned so far as incidental.

Conditions of Employment

We have found considerable difficulties in our way in the conditions of the students' employment. We have lost several good members from our classes on account of changes in their jobs—some changing to the night shift, others leaving town to find new jobs, and others being thrown out of employment. Workingmen have more time for study during periods of unemployment, but they are not in a frame of mind to utilize it in this way. They cannot think abstractly when the practical affairs of their lives are so distressing.

Long hours, irregular hours, and overtime have caused absences from class in numbers of cases. The eight-hour day is still the exception in most industries. In Pennsylvania, we have more people working ten hours a day than those who are working eight. Indeed, we have thousands who are still working twelve hours per day. Men and women who work more than eight or nine hours a day cannot be expected to spend much time and energy in study.

Exhausting labor, of course, discourages study; some of our students go to sleep in class. One evening when two men went to sleep, they both came to the teacher after class to apologize, explaining that they had been working out of doors all day in the cold and sitting in a warm room after a big supper (not the wearisomeness of the teacher) put them to sleep.

Social Life of the Students

Some of the most frequent excuses for absence we received were the obligations of family life. Perhaps the family had company on the evening when the class met, or a child or the wife was sick, or perhaps the wife had insisted that the husband spend at least one evening in the week at home. There is work about the home that men with families cannot escape. There are repairs and improvements to be made, cleaning to be done, and all kinds of emergencies to be met. Moreover, the crowded conditions and the household activities of many homes discourage study. The student has little opportunity to orient himself. Occasionally a business or a social engagement will keep a man from class. Some of our best students have so many union activities that these occasionally conflict with the sessions of the class.

Indeed, the most of us who are engaged in making a living and have family cares find it extremely difficult to carry on any course of study without frequent interruptions. Even professional teachers have their difficulties in pursuing supplementary studies.

One of the keenest disappointments we have met with is the absence of young men and women from our classes. We have a few of them, but the majority of the students are the older and experienced men in the labor movement. We often hear the remark that those who need education most are absent. And it is true. We have not really reached the young men and women in our classes. We see them at the movies, at dances, in the pool rooms, at athletic contests, and on the streets, but the attraction of the labor class is not strong enough to draw and hold them.

Problem of the Teacher

Much depends upon the teacher in the labor class. His difficulties are peculiar in many ways. For so much of his effort must be experimental, the problems of adult education not having been studied so thoroughly as those of child education. Only a beginning has been made in this direction. The teacher must be dead in earnest; he must be thoroughly sympathetic; must understand the labor movement; must be master of his subject, and must know how to teach; that is, how to present knowledge clearly and interestingly and how to draw from the student the best in him.

Unfortunately, most of the professional teachers, who are highly successful in teaching children or college students, cannot meet the requirements of the labor class. They are either ignorant of the life of the students, or they approach the work in a condescending way. The teachers we want are rare. We will have to develop them. And this we can probably do as fast as the demand for them grows.

However, we are confronted with the serious problem of raising funds sufficient to maintain full-time teachers. Our work demands the full attention of its teachers. We would not belittle the work of the part-time teachers. They have made it possible to establish labor schools and we must employ them their full time as soon as possible.

Need for Labor Education Propagandists

An obstacle more serious than any we have mentioned so far is the lack of men and women who can go to the rank and file of the unionists and arouse them on the subject of education. The few who have

an understanding of its possibilities must carry their message to those who do not yet see its need. Our experience in Pennsylvania has been that the success of this work as, indeed, of any similar undertaking, depends upon the zeal, the courage, the enthusiasm, and the endurance of a few missionaries. In each city where our classes were successful, there have been one or two men who devoted themselves zealously to the cause and spent their evenings canvassing the unions and preaching education.

Whatever success we have had in labor education in Pennsylvania is due mainly to the idealism, the optimism, the self-sacrifice, and the dogged persistence of Mr. Epstein. His efforts have made possible our fifteen successful labor classes paid for by bona fide labor organizations and attended by trade unionists. It was largely his labor and devotion that developed the Workers' Education Bureau of America from a dream to a reality. Whatever will be the measure of success of labor education in Pennsylvania and whatever will be the future of this new organization, we will always be greatly indebted to him for laying the foundations for us. Give us more men and women of vision devoting themselves to workers' education; give us those who have the ability and the will to import their ideal and enthusiasm to the rank and file of labor!

The Obstacle of Ignorance

As was intimated a number of times yesterday, our big problem is to enroll and hold the students. This involves meeting states of mind. I will discuss these psychological obstacles in the order of their difficulty as they appear to me.

First, there is a woeful amount of ignorance in this country. Ten per cent of the adult population is illiterate. Of those who can read and write, only a few have the reading and study habit. Here and there we meet a workingman who is well informed, studious. He is the exception. The English workingmen whom I have met have impressed me as having a wider range of intellectual interests than the American. There is no tradition of scholarship among us generally. This is not only true of the workingman, but also of the average business man. He is ignorant of everything outside of the narrow interests of his business.

Mental Laziness

But ignorance is not so discouraging as mental laziness. Most adults shun mental effort as the fat hog, which we as boys delighted

in teasing, would shun physical effort. Many people, not only in the labor movement but everywhere, protest vigorously against anything that disturbs mental repose.

Intellectual Cowardice

Then we have the intellectual coward. He has an innate fear of excursions into new regions of thought unless he has the guidance of someone who has established a repution for conservatism. He is fearful of any genuine mental activity as a grandmother is of joy-riding. For such a one the very terms "economics" and "sociology" are un-American words, probably of Bolshevik origin.

This ignorance, mental laziness and mental cowardice may be explained by the servile relationship of the working classes to their masters which has existed for thousands of years. But whatever the cause, they are realities and together constitute a limitless region of impenetrable darkness, which we of this generation cannot explore. Our hope lies in a much more restricted area; that is, with the few who have a desire for understanding, or in whom a desire for understanding can be awakened.

Mental Inertia

The greatest of all of obstacles, as they appear to me, is mental inertia. If we wish to move a heavy body, a strong initial effort is required to start it. So in our work there is a tremendous amount of dead weight to be set in motion by organizers, teachers and pupils.

Inertia manifests itself in the negative way in the difficulties we have in establishing habits of study. The mind untrained to abstract thought tires quickly of any task of study, as Mr. Maurer described so graphically last evening. The acquiring of the reading and study habit after one reaches maturity is like trying to master a highly skilled trade after spending the best part of one's life in unskilled work. It can be done, but it requires uncommon perseverance.

Mental intertia manifests itself in the positive way that in the educational process we propose requires the supplanting of old habits of thought. The more intelligent workingmen are mentally active. There has been and there is now a tremendous amount of aggressive trade union activity in America. More brain power and effort must be put back of labor education.

The average unionist is thoroughly imbued with the good old American individualistic philosophy. He is in the union for what he

can get out of it for himself, or if he has any social consciousness, it is often limited to his particular craft. He is keenly alive to all the tactics of a petty business man, and is forever playing for advantage over his competitors, whether they be his employers or unskilled and unorganized workingmen. He has a grip on "his own business," but he knows nothing of the great economic and social problems of the day except from the employers' press. Consequently, he has very much to unlearn before he begins to see the necessity of attending a workingman's school.

And our typical labor leader is a typical business man. He has the business man's psychology and his bearing. He dresses like him, talks like him, and carries on his negotiations like him. It is no accident that he is called a "business agent."

Now, our work is to supplant this business psychology with social thinking. The inertia of individualistic thinking must be overcome by the momentum of our socialized thinking. This process must necessarily be slow; we must plod along for years before we can hope to see big results.

As labor's experiences demonstrate the futlity of the petty business man's tactics, its old habits of thought will weaken, and new habits of thought, engendered by new experiences, will establish themselves. Our faith in labor education rests upon the belief that it is in harmony with the great social and economic forces which now stir the world.

Our most encouraging experience this year was the finding of unmistakable evidence that there is a growing demand within the rank and file of labor for workers' education. The seeds we have planted have certainly germinated. There are many evidences that the human soil and climate of these times are favorable to growth. It but remains for us to apply our skill and energies to the cultivation. Let us work for the flowering time of the spirit of man!

Popularizing Workers' Education

By Paul Blanshard*

I want to summarize some suggestions which may be of value in popularizing workers' education.

First, dances after meetings. Dances after general labor meetings are effective means of getting a good crowd. At Rochester, at our Friday night forum, we have a dance after every forum averaging about four or five hundred in attendance, and each person who attends the dance has to attend the lecture. The way we manage it is that when they come in at the door they get a ticket, and the ticket is free, but unless they are in the auditorium at 8.30 to hear the lecture, they do not get into the dance that follows.

Local Union Lectures

Second, classes before locals. I suggested yesterday that I thought in a great many educational centers where the workers are not ready for formal classes to spend a whole evening in study, it is practical to have a class of labor problems or current events or a general social forum from 7:30 to 8:15 and then have the local proceed in its regular business.

Good Titles for Courses

Third, popular titles. I am strongly in favor of having as attractive titles as possible for the general sociological and economic subjects. For example, in Rochester this year, we had a course in women's problems and instead of calling it "Feminism" these are the titles we gave it: "Should a Woman Obey Her Husband?" "Women and Clothes," Should a Woman Marry on Thirty Dollars a Week?" "Should a Woman Earn Her Own Living?" and so forth. Each one is advertised as a distinct lecture although they are part of a course.

Parliamentary Practice

Fourth, parliamentary drill combined with the public speaking class. I think most of us have tried it. I think one of the most successful ways of learning it is to have the parliamentary drill for the first twenty minutes followed by an hour of public speaking. The

*Director of the Rochester Labor College.

parliamentary drill is very interesting when conducted in this manner: To have each person in the class in rotation take the chair and immediately surrendering it when he makes an error in parliamentary law. The teacher in the class acts as a referee and each session has a special subject.

Public Speaking

In the assignment of subjects for the public speaking class I think the widest variety should be attempted. Some of the sample methods that seemed to prove most successful in Rochester were: asking a man to present a silver cup to Tom Mooney when he gets out of prison; asking another person to speak for ten minutes on piece work or week work, on the side he is not in favor of. Give the class a subject. Let them sit absolutely quiet for ten minutes and then get them on the platform in what we call an impromptu drill. Or get some speakers on the platform and heckle them and see if they could answer questions from any person in the audience. I find that in parliamentary law it is feasible to attempt an examination.

The Debating Team

Fifth, a debating team. I think it is very good to have a debating team and we have one in Rochester. We had a debate on the question: "Resolved, that Communism should be applied to America" with the Young People's Socialist League. We hope to establish a debating circle next year.

Dramatics

Sixth, dramatic clubs with minstrel shows and plays. The workers are not interested in serious singing but they like black face comedy and they like light plays and we are going to attempt a labor play on May Day. The workers have surprising talent if some one will give them a chance to bring it out.

Class Dinners

Seventh, a graduation dinner for the class. Take them to a downtown hotel and give them a good feed.

Story Telling

Eighth, a story hour for the children when their mothers come to the Friday night forum. We have a paid story teller with an average of 150 children and the mothers can bring their babies and we chcek

them at the door and they go into this room and listen to the stories while the main lecture is going on. The result has been an increase in the attendance of mothers at our meetings.

Advertising

Ninth, attractive advertising. I have never seen a prospectus for a labor college that to me was very attractive. Mr. Maurer brought out last night how thousands of our workers cannot even read. It is time we got out something attractive, something full of pictures and full of fun. If we do that I think it will help our work a great deal. I spoke yesterday of a little weekly bulletin we got out. We publish a weekly paper and always aim to have some jokes and as far as possible some pictures, because I think the heavy stuff does the work more harm than good.

Library

Tenth. We have a little library in Rochester. It is not much good, but I think this principle is successful; putting the books right by the window where our members pay dues. The Public Library has given us books. If you could have a book case where they pay dues at the window I think you could begin to have a small circulation.

Readers in the Shops

Eleventh. When I was in the South it was my good fortune to work with Spanish cigar makers and I heard something that I never heard described in the North. The Spanish cigar makers have readers sitting on a platform six feet high and long rows of people sitting at the table rolling cigars and this reader reads all day. He is paid out of the contribution of the people in the factory. The first half hour in the morning he reads translations from the daily papers in Spanish. The rest of the time he reads novels or I. W. W. literature or anything he pleases. This reader reads anything he likes and if the boss tried to stop him from reading it they go on strike. If you were working in an industry where there is hand labor—we cannot do it in the clothing industry—but it is my dream that somewhere, somehow in the North shall be found a few factories where that thing can be attempted.

Education for the New World

Finally, since we are in the City of Injunctions and I am an official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers I want to read these concluding remarks. "We should not be tempted to temporize our work so much

that we lose sight of its central aim. The chief aim in my opinion is not to make up for deficiencies in schooling. Although that is badly needed, we must have, in addition to regular cultural training, an education in science that will build up a new social order. We must tell the workers those truths which the ordinary colleges withhold. We are part of a special class, the working class. We are trying to make that class free by teaching its members to think. We should teach them to think first in the most effective and non-dogmatic manner about the methods of their own liberation. We should say to them, dance and sing to your hearts' content, but when we get through dancing and singing we must fight, and in that fight the educated labor man is more precious than gunpowder." (Applause).

Methods of Mass Education

By Algernon Lee*

I wish to speak about a few of the many problems of purpose and method which have presented themselves in the experience of the Rand School—an experience which has now stretched over fifteen years, and in the course of which we have dealt with at least fifteen to twenty thousand individual students, the large majority of them wage workers.

Aim of Workers' Education

First of all, as to purpose. I suppose all of us who are gathered here will agree that we are not interested in education for its own sake—for the sake of culture. This is too busy a world, and too full of injustice, for us to have any right to spend our energies in that way. We are interested in workers' education, not as an end, but as a means. And as a means to what end? To the benefit of the worker as an individual? I have no doubt that every student in our classes does get some individual benefit from the work. We may be very glad of that. But that is not what we are aiming at. If it were, we might leave the whole task to the public and high school system, the universities and their extensions, and the various philanthropic agencies.

*Educational Director of the Rand School of Social Science.

No, our guiding purpose is to help the worker to become more efficient in the service of his class. Education is a means to power—workers' education is a means to develop the workers' power to emancipate themselves. And every question as to what should be taught and how the teaching should be done must be answered with reference to this fundamental aim.

The Curriculum

As to the content of the work we ought to do, I would say that there is hardly any subject in the whole range from kindergarten to graduate school that might not properly be included in our curriculum. But for practical reasons, we have to limit our scope.

History

Some time ago I heard Dr. Beard say that the study of history is itself an historic force. That struck me as a very true saying. The conscious identity of an individual consists in his memory. He who remembers nothing, or who has nothing to remember, is no one in particular. History is social memory. Every social unit, every nation, or people, every religious, political or economic movement, if it possesses any real vitality, can draw both strength and wisdom from the study of its own past. The working class has a history, full of lights and shadows, a splendid and tragic history. In this country, that history is almost a closed book to the working people themselves. It must be opened to them. The study of the history of the working-class movement, of course, leads on to general history, economic, political and cultural. The suggestion has been made, and it is worth trying out, that perhaps history might better be taught in reverse chronological order, starting with the present and working back into the past.

Economics and Political Science

Economics need hardly be more than mentioned as an essential part of the curriculum in labor classes. If it is honestly taught, the workers never think of calling it a "dismal science". In the field of political science, civics has its obvious utilitarian interest; but comparative government and the evolution of political institutions can also be made alive and attractive, once the student thinks of himself as not an isolated individual, but a co-worker in the making of

history. Economics will of course include a study of concrete facts and problems as the wage-earner knows them in the shop and as the labor union officials grapple with them day by day. Political science will take in the whole subject of labor and the law, and will perhaps link itself to the study of problems of union organiaztion and the internal government and administration of the union.

English and Public Speaking

The teaching of English spelling, grammar and composition must necessarily occupy much of our time. This leads on to public speaking and debating, and to parliamentary law.

Labor Research

But the public speaker must not only know how to say something; first of all, he must know just what he wants to say. This involves training in the art of research, and also straight thinking and getting one's thoughts into the minds of others. It is perhaps not too much to hope that here and there a little group may be given the elements of statistical method. It is certainly possible to teach logic and psychology in such a way as to make them both useful and attractive.

Culture and Science

How far we should carry our English work on into the field of literature, and thence to the drama, music and art, is one of our moot questions. And the same question presents itself with regard to the teaching of natural science, in the form which such teaching usually takes when it tries to be popular. These things are in demand. Considering the limitations of the time and energy at our disposal, ought we to regard them as essentials or as dispensable luxuries?

Physical Education

One line of work remains to be mentioned, which is decidedly popular, but whose solid value is only beginning to be appreciated. I mean what is called physical education, which may include instruction in physiology and hygiene on the one hand, and what commonly goes under the name of gymnastics on the other, but whose most vital part concerns itself with games, social dancing, interpretive dancing, and other forms of organized recreation. Whether considered as a means to the bodily and emotional health of the individual, or

as a source of pleasure, or for its effect on the morale of the organization whose members learn to co-operate in having fun—from every point of view its possibilities are immense.

What Shall We Do First?

Well, we have "taken all knowledge for our province",—and rightly so, for the workers ought to demand the world and all that it contains. The question of content resolves itself into the question, at what points may the province be best invaded and which portions must we first occupy?

Obstacles

The problems of method are equally important—perhaps even more pressing. Mr. Hendley has made a formidable list of the obstacles to be overcome—and I recognized each one as an old friend. One of the most obvious, of course, is the ignorance of the workers—that is, their lack of certain kinds of knowledge which may be taken for granted in high school and college teaching. Another very big one is their lack of leisure for study and their weariness when they come to class.

Simple Instruction

Our teaching must be very elementary and very simple. The process of learning must be made as easy as possible. But it must not be made easy by dilution—by skipping what is difficult and presenting superficial conclusions and formulas. Perhaps we can do only a little. But that little must be done thoroughly. Difficulties must not be avoided. They must be overcome.

Joy of Teaching

The men and women who come to our classes are in earnest. They are making sacrifices. They trust us. They have a right to the very best service any teacher can give. Teaching such classes is harder work, I believe, work that calls for more active intelligence and intense effort, than any other teaching, from primary school to university. But the man or woman who is capable of doing it well, and who does it well, can get unlimited satisfaction out of it.

Danger of Lecturing

One thing we have to guard against is the tendency to lecture—just to stand up and pour forth information, in the pious hope that it will find its way into the students' minds. That is a great danger. It is the easiest course for the teacher. It is what the students expect, and even demand. If they are conscious of not getting much result in the long run, they blame their own stupidity. They ought to blame the teacher's laziness. I speak feelingly, from a consciousness of my own oft repeated sins in this matter. If once in a while at the close of a session, I feel pretty well satisfied with my work, it is when I have lectured not more than fifteen or twenty minutes out of the hour, and the rest of the time has been spent on questions—questions put to the class and questions asked by the class and most of them thrown back to the class to be answered.

Make Each Lesson a Unit

Irregularity of attendance is another great obstacle to good work. How is it to be overcome? One answer is that every lesson ought to be conducted in such a way as to make sure that the student who attends only that one session gets something out of it. That means very careful planning of the lesson and very great care in executing the plan. It can be done.

Avoid Dogma

A vital point in method is avoidance of the dogmatic or even the didactic attitude. Imparting information is only a small part of the teacher's duty. Instilling beliefs or opinions is no part of his duty—it is a breach of trust. He is there to help his students to think, or he has no business there at all. There is too much teaching of dogma already. Fortunately, a good deal of it is false dogma. If the people cannot escape getting dogmas put into their heads, by all means let them get false ones. Experience in life may then knock them out. True dogmas stick. A true dogma is a dead truth. It is worse than useless, for it keeps live truth out or even corrupts and kills it. Let us have quantity in our work—all we can—but quality first. Better a handful of thinkers—even slow, clumsy, stumbling thinkers—than a multitude of believers, who only think they can think. (Applause).

Psychology and Workers' Education

By Dr. Margaret Daniels*

Arouse Discontent

I shall tell you a little this evening of how we have attempted to bring this so-called academic subject of psychlooy into the lives of the workers. We want the workers first to have the feeling that they must be emancipated, the feeling of discontent with their present situation, and, as one of our previous speakers said, one of the greatest obstacles is the inertia that we must fight.

Use Brains

The next thing we want to do after we have gotten them into the class is to teach them how to use their brain, not describing the machine, as so many people have done in psychology, but to teach them to use the machine. And so with that point in view we take up such subjects as habit; we take the immediate experience of the worker we interpret these immediate experiences in the light of the scientific developments of experimental psychology.

Study of Habit

Let us see how we would conduct a class, for instance, dealing with habit. We may not mention the psychological term Habit, but we take a group of workers and we say, "What do you eat?" "How much exercise do you get per day?" "How many hours do you sleep?" "How do you act at your work?" "Have you good posture?" It goes right down to the physical.

We make them realize that unless they have good physical foundation they cannot have any kind of an alert mental condition, and so we concentrate on the forming of good physical habits. We try to make them diagonse themselves, to pick out their weak points and develop their strong points and then we go to the mind.

Habits of Study

Have you got good study habits? Do you spend so much time every day doing serious study? As Mr. Maurer said last evening, ordinary people cannot even read through a few lines without their

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*Instructor in the Workers' University of the International Ladies' Garment Workers', (N. Y.)

minds getting tired. It is one of the objects of practical psychology to teach these workers how to study. We have students getting books in psychology, getting books in history. For instance, it is not impossible to have them read Well's Outline of History. In my more advanced course, I ask them to bring in reports from week to week after reading books. They report their progress to me and before the class.

Psychology Applied to the Shop

We also teach them how to think straight in practical situations in the work shop and in their home. We teach them the value of tolerance and open mindedness. One trade union girl was rather excitable at the beginning of the course. She flew off the bat as we say two or three times in discussion in class. After attending some time this girl came to me and said, "Miss Daniels, I have really done something. The manager of our department—(the student was the floor lady of that department)—said he would not give us a holiday. It was Lincoln's birthday, and if I hadn't had this work I would have flared up and would have been just as angry as he was, and do you know what I did? I was calm and I gave him all the reasons why we should have a holiday and he went away. He came back and he said that he would give us that holiday and I feel so proud of myself that I had to come and tell you."

Searching for Facts

Now great numbers of them report in like fashion. For instance, we try to teach them that before they make any judgment, it is necessary to accumulate as many facts as possible, and you know how hard that is. And if it is hard for us, how much harder is it for those workers who have had a limited education, who have gone to the work shop day after day and spent their best years at a machine, or in the mines, or somewhere else. Just think how much harder it is for them patiently to go after the facts and arrive at their conclusions only after they have studied the facts. But that is what they are doing, and they are making an earnest effort. It is only a beginning, but still I am very hopeful of what they may accomplish because when they do get at the light it is almost like a revelation from on high to them.

In my university teaching I used to long for this sincerity that I now get, this earnest reaction and this putting into practice the suggestions received. I think that psychology can be of a tremendous power in the workers' education. (Applause).

How to Teach a Class of Workers

By Dr. Alexander Fichandler*

I have no doubt that all of you are familiar with the development of the labor movement in the United States. You probably recall that in the first half of the Nineteenth Century when the workers began to organize they began to realize very soon that the legislatures passed all sorts of legislation which favored the interest of the employing class. Bills after bills were passed which limited their economic power and they felt that unless something was done to change the course of legislation there was going to be trouble for the workers.

There were the voters electing all sorts of Republican and Democratic legislators year after year and these fellows got to the legislature and passed all sorts of laws that annoyed these workers and after thinking about it for a while what do you think these workers did? I am asking you.

What did they do? Here are voters using their power to vote in legislators to pass such laws, and so they declare that labor should go into politics and they did and they started making advances to the regular party, and flirted with them, and some of them nominated candidates of their own, and after a while they did elect legislators and other officers who had union cards in their pockets, and as that went on for years and years, finally groups of them decided that eventually this sort of thing does not do so much good, and they got tired of it and so we had—what do you suppose they did now? That did not work, so what did they do?

A Delegate: They did not do anything.

Direct Action

Another Delegate: They went back to the strikes:

Dr. Fichandler: Oh, yes, you know your history. They went back to striking. Thank you, you made my speech for me. I think I have made my point.

How to Get Over Information

My experience in teaching leads me to make these few assertions. When you have your class-room before you just visualize this class-

*Educational Director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

room of workers and the teacher. What do you want to accomplish in the evening? First of all, you as the teacher, want to give the students some information. Secondly, you try to give that information in such a way that it will stick to them. You hope that when they get out of the class-room they will use the information to their own benefit. Naturally, you cannot control the last. The teacher cannot very well tell how they are going to use the information but he can do all in his power to get it over, to pass on the information in such a way that it will stick to them, and the question is for the teacher as the teacher, how should that be done. You showed us how it can be done, by answering the teacher's questions. I could have told you in thirty seconds that when labor discovered that political power was being used against them the natural thing to do was to use their own political power, and so they elected legislators to pledge the union interests to fight for them, and after a few years they discovered that the political methods did not get results, so they returned to the trade unions.

The Question and Answer Method

But you will remember answering those questions because you actively answered the question and you drew the conclusion instead of letting me do it for you. This is the secret of all teaching as far as I can see. The good teacher and all of us want to be good teachers, must carry these two principles in his mind: Never give any information that someone else could give, and never draw a conclusion that anyone in the class can draw.

The Lecture Method

You can attract an enormous audience with a brilliant lecturer, a splendid man and a person with a fine personality. Hundreds of students will come night after night to listen to him and to get information. The question, however, is, will that informaiton stick? Will it function in their lives? Will it become assimilated by the students and will it become part of the mental stock? Maybe it will. I venture to say maybe it won't. And if I were mathematically inclined I would say that in 75 out of 100 cases it won't.

The pity of it is that the great majority of students prefer the lecture way. It is so much nicer and lazier for you to sit back and just listen than to think up answers to questions. Is it a good thing

for me to lecture? Are you honestly thinking now? Is your mind working? How many of your minds are working now? (Laughter). It is embarrasing and it is uncomfortable to think and talk.

The Student As Creator

Then let me point to another value of active participation in class-room work, the joy, the thrill of creation. I asked you a question and instead of my answering it, you answer it. Each one who answers has that little glow, "I have done it." The same thrill of joy that the singer has when she makes a beautiful note, you feel when you have contributed to the work. You have given expression to an idea. There is nobody like the artist. The artist's life is the happiest life in the world because he is constantly creating. Every student in the class can be, to a certain extent, an artist. The student who answers a question or draws a conclusion before the teacher is filled with that electric joy which makes that work really worth while.

Of course, this method is sometimes difficult to carry on. Sometimes it is difficult to draw out the information wanted. But my experience has been that even if I want you to tell me something and you cannot, you have been busy. The muscular act of contracting your brow, your trying to figure out that answer is a contribution. If you make a physical as well as an intellectual effort it intensifies the result. So that even though no one in class may be able to answer a question, the very putting of the question helps.

Establishing a Response

It seems to me that if I want to put a lesson across I cannot do it unless I feel that the class is with me. Those of you who are familiar with art know that it takes two groups or two parties, to make a successful concert or a successful recital: the artist and the audience, and you know from your reading and personal experience, that when the artist steps on the platform and feels that the audience is not responsive he cannot play well. He must feel that there is a certain intimate reaction going on all the time, and so with the teacher.

The Value of a Response to the Teacher

When I teach and feel that the class is not responsive, there is a heaviness which drags my spirit. A gloom surrounds me, a sort of intellectual darkness. I cannot put things over any more. How may I come to know this? I ask a question. Even if that question is not answered, I fire it, because some person looks pretty sleepy. Imme-

diately there is a change. I ask another question and find the answers coming. I know I am being followed. What I am trying to do is to meet with response. Sometimes I cannot ask a question and I wait for questions. I stop and say, What about this, is it right, is it wrong? Why do you think it is right or wrong?

Breaking Monotony

The breaking up of the monotony of the hour is one of the most important elements in the success of a lesson. I do not care how attractive the lecturer is and I do not care how interested the audience is,—I have been the victim of many professors in many colleges and universities—the human mind cannot follow the unbroken talk for an hour. It falls asleep. By breaking up the period in your ten or fifteen, or seven or eight minute topics for discussion, and by getting the response, a lesson will be put over.

Danger of Getting Off the Subject

A number of teachers feel that it is going to break up the work, if questions are permitted and if students interrupt. The tendency will be to run away from the subject. Sometimes questions are completely run off on a tangent. The skillful teacher will keep discussion to the point and refuse to be moved away from the subject.

Let me repeat. Take this teaching formula: I will never give any information to my class unless I try to get it from the class first. I will never draw a conclusion from the class, and I won't have to draw the conclusion once they have the facts. The teacher who answers the questions for the class without giving them a chance, commits a crime. He is denying to his student the great God-given right of thinking for himself. (Applause).

Class Consciousness As a Factor in Labor Education

By J. B. Salutsky*

W. E. B. Policy

We call our enterprise the Workers' Education Conference. We emphasize the fact, that it is an agency to help in the education of the workers. Yet we refuse to face the fundamental fact in the workers' organization and movement—the class struggle. We so act

*National Director, Educational Department Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

because we are anxious to fit our enterprise to the labor movement in America and to adapt it to both the radical and conservative elements in it. We wish to please the one side and not to antagonize the other.

It is a very pious wish, indeed. But will it work? I don't know. I rather think it will not. And I suggest, therefore, that we face reality and make the best of it.

The Class Consciousness of the American Worker

It may be true, as one speaker this afternoon suggested, that the American worker is not class-conscious by a long shot. But will you deny that at least in certain sections, in fact in large layers the workers of America are growing conscious of their class position and class-interests in our class-divided social mechanism? This may be a dormant consciousness, a sub-consciousness. Yet it is deeply rooted and it is growing. It is a latent force, and surely, we, workers in the endeavor of labor education, must not overlook it. The political backwardness of the workers in America must not bind us to the fact of the economic consciousness of the workers.

Take the miners in West Virginia. Of course, they vote with either the Democrats or the Republicans. They will hardly ever vote with the Socialists and surely not with the Communists should the Communists choose to enter the political elections. Even the Laborites may not be able to get them for a long time to come. Yet, will you doubt that the West Virginia miner no longer considers himself economically equal to or of one kind with the mine owners? Take the story of the recent class struggle in West Virginia, in Michigan, in Pennsylvania, in Colorado and ask yourselves: Are the workers in those mines and mills class-conscious?

The class-consciousness is a fact. An important fact which the labor educator must take account of. For this fact works in two diametrically opposite directions.

Protest As Educational Stimulus

In one way it is a wonderful stimulus, a powerful driving force working our way. This class-consciousness, the combination of the feeling of protest on one hand and of the striving to mastery on the other is just the force, which, if you play it properly, will stimulate your activities beyond the most expectations.

But it works in another direction as well. It may be a dangerous block in the way of your endeavor if you fail to take the exact account of its working. And to properly direct it.

Fear of Greeks Bearing Gifts

Because of the class-consciousness the worker is disinclined to do too much of analyzing. If the word comes from what he or she will consider his or her own source or side, that word will be taken as gospel truth. But it will be flatly rejected if its source will bear the ear marks of the other side. The class-conscious worker fears Greeks bearing gifts. And in a boss-made world he will have none of what may be boss-made, though, it be labor education. We must not overlook this fact. We will make the best of it if we properly appreciate it.

We offer education, but not the kind one may get for the asking in the existing educational agencies. We are not in the field of education because education is necessary. We are to give a certain brand of education because this particular brand of education, workers' education, education of value to the workers as such, is not offered in the system of education now prevailing.

The Problem of Leadership

Here is a problem with which all organizations of workers are confronted. The problems is—how to make the operating staff or the labor movement meet the requirements of the industrial situation ever growing more complete and acute.

As you know the officers of a great many organizations are elected to office by vote of the rank and file. Now, I had the opportunity to examine quite a number of candidates for office in a number of unions, not necessarily of my own organization. There are examination committees in many unions, and candidates are to pass what we may call a test of general intelligence before they are permitted to go on the ballot. Well, I had a man who answered, when asked, "What he thought of the Plumb Plan of Industrial Control?"—"I am not a plumber and know nothing about it." He was rather indignant, that such an irrelevant question might be asked of him. Why should he think of plumbing? Or another man who was asked: "Suppose new machinery were introduced in your branch of the industry and a number of people would lose employment because of it. What would you do, as manager or representative of the union?" This answer was rather emphatic: "Destroy the machines!" It didn't occur to him that the system of employment and not the machine might perhaps be attacked with more profit to the worker.

It is a problem of leadership. It is a fact that people are losing

faith in present day leaders and deploring the fact is no solution of problem. It is the business of workers' education to meet the demand for new leadership. Not that we are to get new leaders out of this gathering. We are to create the material out of which the new leadership will arise. Let us weld the scattered promising individuals of the rank and file into intelligent even if small groups in every local union. Let us extricate and thus bring forward the future commissars of the spiritual revolution. If we do nothing else but help building these small groups of "thinking proletarians" we will have met, a considerable part of our task.

Mass-education, of course. Much good will come of it, and let us by all means work so that the largest possible numbers profit by our effort. But the promise we hold out the movement is in group education. Ten in one union and twenty five in another and fifteen in a third and the right education of these groups, that is our problem in face of the situation we are in.

The fact of the class-consciousness of the worker is the cornerstone of our contemplated edifice. Our committees will reckon with it. And while political expediency may prevent us from duly emphasizing it, will not let us headline it, at the very bottom of our enterprise it must be if we wish to have the confidence of the rank and file. And we have nothing worthy of consideration but this confidence. Of course, you may get a number of presidents and vice-presidents of international unions to beautify your stationery but there it will end, and unless you get the rank and file to trust you and unless your activities hold out a promise for the future, a definite promise for a definite future for the working clas,s you won't succeed. I earnestly hope that this spirit will animate our endeavor. (Applause).

What Can the Workers' Teacher Expect of His Students?

By Professor Broadus Mitchell*

Value of the Small Class

In considering what effort the teacher of workers can expect of his students, it is hardly necessary to say that we have in mind not mass education, but instruction given to small groups made up of regular and earnest attendants, whether with the design of general

*Professor at Johns Hopkins University.

cultural enrichment or of equipping union leaders and officials. Where numbers are aimed at, the work falls upon the lecturer; the students, if they can properly be called such, are supposed to use their ears in listening rather than their eyes and brains in making supplementary searches for themselves. Only in small classes can real study be undertaken. This fact applies not simply to workers' education, but to any project of instruction. Class organization, which means the difference between intensive and desultory method, is a prerequisite of active participation on the part of students. The teacher must know his pupils and appreciate the problems and progress of individuals, and the members of the group must know each other intimately, if there is to be cooperative learning.

Job and Study Responsibility

A primary distinction between workers' education and that of the college student is that the latter supposedly has study as his main business; all the conditions of his life are adjusted with a view to making study convenient and pleasant. The worker, on the other hand, has a job for his main responsibility, so that study is rendered as difficult as possible.

Workers' Contribution from Experience

I am sure one cannot reach the heart of a subject by listening to another. He must make investigation for himself. Workers have, of course, one great advantage which the usual student cannot possess; namely, actual industrial experience. Thus lectures to workers call up in the minds of hearers illustrations, confirmations and objections in an even more effective way than acquaintance with book information can provide. This is what lends constructive quality to class discussions, in which views are corrected, dogmas modified, and principles imbued with life.

Tutorial Classes

In England the tutorial classes, which are the characteristic type of workers' education there, have been built upon three requirements from the students—pledges of regular attendance at twenty-four meetings in the year for three years, the reading of books and the weekly writing of essays. Only rarely, so far as I am aware, have we reached this desirable level in the United States. It is partly because the movement here is younger, partly because classes do not receive support from public funds and educational endowments, and partly be-

cause our country is so large that it has not been easy, as in England, to send out tutors directed by a central organization. In method, our work has been more like that conducted in England in one-year classes and university extension courses, where lectures are principally relied upon.

Standards for Workers' Classes

We ought, then, as rapidly as possible, to increase the amount of work required of students. Our aim is to give to adult workers the same mental grasp enjoyed by persons who have been accustomed to continuous instruction. Certainly our belief is that this can be accomplished, and just as certainly the labor movement is conspicuously in the position where it can utilize the fullest information and the most penetrating power of analysis.

Essays

Nothing so clarifies thought and produces respect for the difficulties of study as the statement of queries and the setting down of results. In England the arduous writing of essays has been held to with remarkable fidelity. On the whole the quality of the essays has been high, and in instances has equaled the best fruits of university effort. Writing is hard for the majority of the most advanced students; for the worker who lacks in primray training it may never become a simple matter. The chief obstacle in the way of the ordinary written exercise is that the student, with however excellent knowledge of form, has insufficient equipment in fact. He knows perhaps how to say it, but has nothing to say. Here the worker is better off. His maturity and his industrial experience, even without a complement of book information, gives him a foundation to build upon. And it has been found that the mechanics of writing are soon mastered under these conditions. Grammar and rhetoric and spelling are subservient to the insistence on ideas. Requirement of certain reading and preparation of papers, sympathetically assigned by the teacher, will not discourage a class of workers, but will add to the zest of the undertaking.

Class Libraries

Certain facilities are necessary. In England the universities, local education authorities and libraries have supplied books. A class library in charge of a class secretary is the aim we should hold in view, such a collection of books to be supplemented by use of public libraries.

It will be necessary at times to use special effort to induce these latter institutions to secure volumes needed.

Training in Science

There is the feeling now that workers' education should reach out to emphasize not alone the social sciences, but the physical sciences as well. The English Adult Education Committee has remarked that "even the elementary study of some branch of natural science. . . offers a training in the dispassionate examination and weighing of facts which should be a stimulus to right thinking and wise action in other fields," and that the "special value of science as an instrument of education is that, more than any other study it attains to positive knowledge free from speculation and personal bias." These comments suggest that the controversial social sciences can only be lifted out of the range of dispute, and approach verity in proportion as investigation is disppasionate.

Laboratory Equipment

We ought to try to introduce in large degree, both for their own sake and for their reflection upon economics, history and politics, such subjects as biology, psychology and physics. But here again we meet the problem of equipment. Students cannot perform experiments and make observations unless they have apparatus. In England the means of providing for scientific studies have been found. As we in the United States secure more money for the workers' education movement, we must spend some upon books and laboratory supplies. If study has up to this time been chiefly centered upon the social sciences, partly because they are of first interest to workers, the choice has also been partly dictated by lack of classroom helps—we have taken the subjects of which the students, unaided, had most knowledge.

Grades and Degrees

If study, as distinct from attendance and attention, is to be expected of workers in educational classes, the question arises whether successful pupils should be given acknowledgment of their accomplishments. I cannot believe any good purpose would be served by awarding a certificate or diploma. Those of us in university work have sufficient cause to deplore the artificialities which degrees too often imply. Instead of coming to possess information and intellectual integrity, the student may be content with the privilege of writing some letters after his name. In place of giving him the thing, we badge him with

the name of the thing. What we are after in workers' education is results in performance. If the help received by study does not make itself evident in the activities of the student, in his more intelligent and effective reaction to his environment, then no declaration that he has received instruction will better the case. I can agree with the committee of Englishmen already quoted, in the belief that "to the great majority, including some of the most capable and earnest. . ., the desire for a formal academic recognition is a quite negligible motive. The recognition which they would most prize would not, indeed, be a certificate or diploma, but the opportunity for further study, both for themselves and for their friends."

Need of Full Time Teachers

We must understand that reading and essay writing make demands not only of the student, but of the instructor as well. For a teacher to tell a class what he knows is one thing; to guide the class in discoveries on its own account is another. It seems very doubtful whether most of those conducting workers' courses in America at present have sufficient time to correct essays and give students individual attention in their reading. As with pupils, the instructor's efforts end with attendance and mental engagement during the period of the class. Volunteer teachers would be eager to perform their work more thoroughly if they had available time and a sufficient margin of energy after their regular duties. The limitation is a physical one. We need more teachers who can give their whole strength to workers' education.

Obstacles Can Be Overcome

In asking for more work on the part of the students, I am not unmindful of the fact that nobody is to blame for the present relative absence of real study. In the United States, with projects new, scattered and not in touch with one another, we simply have not come around to it yet. I know fully, too, the hindrances that meet the worker resolved upon serious study—long hours, tasks that dull the senses, forbidding environment, exhaustion of energy before the class is reached, unfamiliarity with academic method, lack of preparation. But it is because I also have learned the abiding eagerness of workers to equip themselves to think, that I believe in their ability to overcome these embarrassments. (Applause).

V.

The Replies to the Questionnaire on Workers' Education in the United States

By ABRAHAM EPSTEIN*

It was New Year's Eve when we decided to call the first Workers' Education Conference. We were conscious of the fact that before we could call this conference to discuss the problems confronting workers' education in America, we must secure as definite information as possible as to the extent and nature of the movement in this country.

Each experiment was individualistic and self-sufficient. No attempt had been made to gather facts concerning the number of labor schools, the aims and objects of these, their methods of organization and control, their system of recruiting students and teachers, the type of these, and their methods of coping with the problem of text-books, funds and meeting places. We therefore decided at our first meeting to send out a questionnaire, asking about the above points, to all the organizations which were known to be carrying on education among workers.

The survey which I am presenting herewith is based upon an analysis of twenty-six questionnaires returned by as many educational enterprises in twenty-two cities in the United States. The experiments included in this list are: The Educational Department of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York; the Amherst Classes for Workers, the Baltimore Labor Class, the Boston Trade Union College, the Cleveland Workers' University, the Workers' Educational Association of Detroit, the Work Peoples' College of Duluth, the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, New York, the Minneapolis Workers' College, the Trade Union College of Greater New York, the Pennsylvania Labor Education Committee, including the cities of Allentown, Bethlehem, Harrisburg, Lancaster, Pen Argyl, Pottsville and Reading, the Philadelphia Trade Union College, the Pittsburgh Trade Union College, the Rand School of Social Science, New York, the Rochester Labor College, the St. Paul Labor College, the Seattle

*Secretary of the Education Department, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

Workers' College, the United Labor Education Committee, New York, the Trade Union College of Washington and the National Women's Trade Union League. Three of these schools provide for resident students, who come to study for a certain period of time.

This survey is extremely interesting. It has revealed that the entire movement for labor education in the United States is hardly two years old. Previous to 1918 there were only four experiments in existence, two of which were sponsored by socialist and radical elements while the other two were those of the National Women's Trade Union League and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Two new schools were added in 1918. In 1919 there were four new schools organized. 1920 witnessed the establishment of thirteen additional ones, nine of which were in Pennsylvania. During the first three months of 1921 there were added three more. The establishment of a number of new schools is expected during the coming fall. It is obvious, therefore, that the movmeent has just begun to spread; is gradually beginning to make real progress, and is becoming a vital force in the American labor movement.

Union Auspices

The auspices under which these schools were organized are as follows: central labor unions, four; local unions, five; international unions, five; state federations, seven; socialist and radical groups, three; universities, one; and the Women's Trade Union League, one. Twenty-two of these are entirely under the control of the trade unions. Only six give representation to teachers, while one gives representation to all groups interested.

Individual Responsibility

A more careful analysis of these so-called auspices reveals, however, that most of these methods of control are nominal. The organizations under whose auspices the work is carried on are not always vitally interested. Only in rare instances has the initiative come from any one of these "foster" organizations. In the majority of cases the movement depends largely upon the few individuals who keep it alive. Of the twenty-six schools replying as to whether their organizer or educational director is remunerated, sixteen stated that no compensation is given. Ten directors are compensated fully or in part. To those of us who are in touch with the actual conditions it is well known that even the latter (those paid in part) are compen-

sated only in connection with other work which they are doing for the organization. One of the questionnaires states the case as follows: "While we have a most democratic method of control, in practice it is not exactly satisfactory. The average trade unionist does not know any more about running a school than he does about running a bank."

Aims

The chief aim of these experiments, if we may sum up the answers given by the persons who are active in this work, is to spread education among the rank and file. This aim has been expressed by everyone. Sixteen also aim to train trade union executives. Only three stated that propaganda was one of their principal aims. Entertainment also is an aim in only three experiments. One also expressed as part of its aim "Constructive social revolution." The Boston College also states that it has been organized "in the belief that progress for organized wage earners can be assured only by social and industrial policies shaped by their own right thinking, and that their ambitions for self betterment must therefore include a concern for the higher training of the mind."

St. Paul aims: "To provide, first, trained and educated workers for labor; second, better citizens; third, to afford some enjoyment of life hitherto denied." The College of Greater New York aims: "To train native American workers to think fundamentally and constructively about economic questions." Amherst College organized its classes for workers "as an expression of the belief that an opportunity for liberal education should be open to all who feel the need of it," and to establish "working connection between Amherst College and a group of working men and women in the vicinity, so that each may offer to the other, the wisdom that has been gaining through its experience and the joint product applied to the solution of problems that are common to all of us."

Cleveland Workers' University aims "primarily to develop intelligent thinking, class-conscious members, trained to understand their part in order that they may interpret the present and assist in the creating of the free society of the future."

Funds

In eighteen cities the funds are raised largely from contributions made by central bodies, local unions and the student fees. In one

case funds are raised entirely from student fees. In two other instances the funds are appropriated by the international unions. The latter, as is doubtless known to most of you, is only the case in the Jewish unions in New York City. It is not the rule. Seattle secures a large part of its funds from collections and individual donations. Meetings are very large. The few fulltime or resident schools, derive a certain part of their income from publications, book-store, cafeteria and scholarships.

In regard to financing these schools, of twenty-two answers received, fourteen state that they find difficulty in financing the work while eight others state they have no difficulty.

Meeting Places

In fifteen cities the labor education classes meet in labor halls. Seven meet in public schools and two in other places. In Minneapolis one class is held in a public library room. The Rand School and the Work Peoples' College own their own buildings.

It is interesting to note that of twenty answers as to where they recommend that classes be held, sixteen recommend the use of labor halls. Only two recommend public schools and two recommend the use of both. The principal reasons given for recommending labor halls are as follows: "greater freedom and independence," "prejudice of workers toward public schools," "fear of hostile interests," "workers are in the habit of going there and want outsiders to meet them in their home," "workers are more at home in labor halls, and the students are more class-conscious there."

Public schools are recommended largely for their better equipment and educational atmosphere. Nine of these experiments pay rent for the use of the halls, while thirteen others do not pay.

Enrolment

The total enrolment in the twenty-six experiments amounts approximately to 9,670. For the different experiments there were found seven with a total enrolment of less than twenty-five each; seven more with a total enrolment ranging from twenty-five to fifty; three with enrolments from fifty to one hundred; six others from one hundred to three hundred; one with a thousand; and another with 2,000. In one case only (Washington) has the enrolment declined since the beginning. The attendance of the Rand School during

the last few years has been from three to five thousand, and would nearly equal the total enrolment of all other labor colleges.

Attendance

Twenty experiments submitted figures as to the regular attendance. The percentage of regular attendance as compared with the total enrollment stands as follows: regular attendance less than 25 per cent, one; 25 to 50 per cent, one; 50 to 75 per cent, sixteen; and one claims a regular attendance of over 75 per cent; while another reported that the regular attendance was "good". Thus the attendance in the majority of cases is on the whole encouraging, and is as high as in most private and public school evening classes, if not higher.

Age of Pupils

Of great interest also is the information collected in regard to the type of student. Of the seventeen answers received to this question it would appear that only in the more radical and Jewish organizations are a considerable number of young people attracted to these classes. In most cases it is only the older men who attend. The students who are under thirty, represent less than 25 per cent of the members of the classes in six places; in seven others they represent less than 50 per cent, and in only four others do they represent a majority of the students.

Students Trade Unionists

One of the very hopeful and encouraging disclosures is the revelation that in fifteen experiments the students are recruited entirely from members of trade unions. In five others, trade union members compose more than 75 per cent of the students. This is even more significant when it is noted that nineteen organizations do not discriminate against non-union persons and all but five admit non-union persons. One permits them by special permission, while another charges a double fee.

Students' Fees

Twelve experiments charge a nominal student fee which ranges from $2 to $5 per course. In 11 others including the seven cities in Pennsylvania, no direct charge is made the students. In the Women's Trade Union League the students receive scholarships, while in the Work Peoples' College (resident) students pay $46 per month.

Absence

Absences and the small percentage of regular attendance are attributed to one or more of the following causes:

1. Indifference and apathy or lack of appreciation on the part of workers and unions. 20
2. Competing union activities and family engagements..... 11
3. Lack of larger funds 10
4. Sickness, physical exhaustion, night work and bad weather 10
5. Discouragement through unemployment, strikes and lockouts 6
6. Decline in interest 2
7. Competing educational activities 2
8. Students not accustomed to continuous and intensive work 2
9. Distant location of school and difficulty of travel..... 1
10. High officials do not boost education 1

Teachers' Salaries

The information supplied in twenty-four questionnaires including the Rand School and the United Labor Education Committee, shows that there are seventy-eight teachers engaged in this work, only five of whom receive a full salary for this work. Forty-eight, or the majority of the teachers are also teaching in public schools or universities. The remuneration varies from $1.50 per evening in one city to $10 in another city. The majority, however, are receiving about $5 per evening. Only in three cities, is it frankly stated that teachers receive no compensation. In actual practice, however, it not infrequently happens that the remuneration specified exists only in theory, and in many instances teachers have not been receiving any compensation because of lack of funds.

Teachers' Training

Another encouraging disclosure is the fact that in twenty schools the teachers have all had previous teaching experience, while more than half of the teachers in the remainder have had such experience. Sixteen of these teachers also had some kind of connection with the labor movement, or were members of the teachers' union.

Class Hours

Classes meet in twenty-one experiments but once a week. Only in one or two places do classes meet oftener than that. This does not, of course, include the schools with resident students. Nineteen

of these also meet only during the evenings, while four others conduct classes Saturdays and Sundays.

Courses

The courses given in these schools are quite varied in their range. They include not only courses in Economics and the Social Sciences, but also Literature, English, Mathematics, Current Events, Concerts, Physical Training, etc. The courses given in the different places during the last year are as follows:

	Subject	No. of Schools Teaching
1	English	12
2	Economics	10
3	History of the Labor Movement	10
4	Public Speaking	9
5	General Survey of Industrial Progress	7
6	Literature	6
7	Gymnasium or Physical Training	5
8	Political Science	4
9	Law and Labor	4
10	Mathematics	3
11	Sociology	3
12	Current Events	3
13	Industrial Problems and Management	3
14	History of Civilization	3
15	Socialism	3
16	Forums	3
17	Current Labor Problems	2
18	Democratic Control of Industry	2
19	Music	2
20	The Co-operative Movement	2
21	Union or Organization Problems	2
22	Psychology	2
23	Health	2
24	Plan Reading	2
25	Languages	2
26	Research (Labor)	2
27	Bookkeeping	2
28	Hikes	1
29	Social Problems	1
30	Women's Problems	1

31	Boycotts and Strikes	1
32	Industrial Unionism	1
33	Social Ethics	1
34	Concerts	1
35	Strike and Unemployment Service	1

Length of Course

The number of lectures in each course also varies considerably with the different cities. In eight cities the courses last from ten to fifteen weeks each. Ten enterprises conduct courses for twenty-five weeks and over and a number of schools vary the length of the class with the particular course.

Average Attendance in Class

The average attendance in sixty-six classes as given in the questionnaires is as follows: twelve classes have a regular attendance of ten or less students; twenty-seven classes have a regular attendance of between ten and twenty students; thirteen between twenty and thirty students; eight from thirty to fifty, and six from forty and over. Thus in over 75 per cent of the classes the average attendance is less than thirty.

Texts

Six experiments use text books in full or in part while fourteen do not, but assign reference readings. Eighteen schools state that they have great difficulty in finding suitable text books. Only one reports that no difficulty is found in this matter.

Student Response

Of twenty answers as to the response of students to outside readings five answered "very good", eight "good", three "fair" and four "poor". One writes: "Conscientious ones if they have time, do the work, others do not." Another one: "Very few fail to do assignments as teachers and class members discourage failures," and still a third one: "Responses reported as varying considerably. Some get discouraged by assignment of work."

Discussion

The time is generally equally divided between lecture and discussion.

English

Of twenty-one answers in regard to the teaching of English in labor schools nine stated that they do teach English while twelve do not. As to whether they expect to carry on work in English the following answers are enlightening. One: "No likelihood of continuing English." Another: "Expect to continue English as public school method is too hackneyed for adults." A third one writes, "English classes are feeders for other classes. If enthusiastic in English, students will go on to other classes. Public schools do not teach practical points."

Opposition

On the whole there has been no opposition to the work from non-labor groups. Of nineteen answers to this question, only four stated that they had encountered some opposition although none of this was very serious. In five cities public school rooms were refused and I regret to state that these were all in Pennsylvania. In Baltimore also there is no co-operation from the public schools or public library. Amherst College received "wealth of disappointed alumni letters stating that college is losing classical tradition."

Neither was there encountered any serious open opposition from labor itself. Only two state they received such opposition, while six others write that they found considerable opposition, but it was not open. One also found opposition on the part of individuals and members who consider education neither equipment nor tool, but something non-essential, a veneer which workers can dispense with as long as they hold a job. They fail to recognize that education is vitally necessary to the organization, growth and development of solidarity in the ranks of American labor. The need of general culture is out of the discussion entirely."

Fifteen experiments also state that labor leaders attend the classes while only two state that they do not.

VI.

The Organization of a National Workers' Education Bureau

1. CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

Adopted at the National Conference on Workers' Education, April 3, 1921.

Name: The name of this organization shall be the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

Purposes: Its purposes shall be to collect and to disseminate information relative to efforts at education on any part of organized labor; to co-ordinate and assist in every possible manner the educational work now carried on by the organized workers; and to stimulate the creation of additional enterprises in labor education throughout the United States.

Membership Eligibility:

A. The following organizations shall be eligible for membership and have the right to one vote each.

1. International and national labor unions; State Federations of Labor and other State Labor organizations; City Central labor unions and district organizations or councils; local labor unions; and bona-fide cooperative associations.

2. Labor educational enterprises.

B. Members of local unions, teachers, organizers, educators, and other interested persons may join the Bureau as Associate Members. They shall receive all bulletins and such information as the Bureau may issue.

Membership Dues: The annual membership dues shall be as follows: $25 for international and national unions; $20 for State Federations of Labor and other state labor organizations; $15 for city central unions, district councils and labor educational enterprises; $5 for local unions; $2 for associate members.

Officers: The officers of the organization shall consist of a chairman, an executive secretary-treasurer and seven additional members who shall constitute the executive committee of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

The officers and the other members of the executive committee shall be elected by the accredited delegates to the regular convention. At least five members of this committee shall be members of bona-fide labor unions.

Duties of Officers: It shall be the duty of the executive committee to carry out policies that have been inaugurated or endorsed by general membership meetings; to devise ways and means of promoting Workers' Education and of financing the organization; to direct the executive secretary in his duties; to call general meetings or any other necessary meetings when they deem proper at points which they shall consider most beneficial to the organization.

The duties of the executive secretary-treasurer shall be specified by the executive committee.

Meetings of Executive Committee: The executive committee shall meet at the call of the chairman and executive secretary-treasurer or of a majority of the executive committee at such intervals and at such places as they shall deem best.

Term of Officers: Newly elected officers shall begin their term of services on the first day of the month following the regular convention or election, and shall serve until their successors are chosen.

Quorum: A majority of the executive committee shall constitute a quorum.

2. REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION OF ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Adopted by the delegates to the National Conference on Workers' Education, April 3, 1921.

Our organizing committee has taken the liberty to call this conference in order that we may jointly give careful consideration to the problems facing the workers' educational enterprises in this country at the present time. Our call was prompted by our individual and joint realization of the pressing need of co-ordinating our individual efforts in order that we may benefit from each other's experience and thus conserve a good deal of fine enthusiasm and energy otherwise misspent.

Our Committee is firmly convinced that it is absolutely essential that we establish a national agency for the purpose of accomplishing a number of very important functions. We are furthermore convinced that the organization of such an agency must no longer be postponed and that this is a most propitious time and place to organize such a national agency.

Fully aware of the importance and potentialities that such an organization may assume, we beg to recommend to this conference the establishment of a Workers' Education Bureau of America. This Bureau should have an executive committee of seven representatives of the different labor unions and educational enterprises, a chairman, and an executive secretary-treasurer who would be members of the executive committee ex-officio, and who would meet at frequent intervals.

We believe that the Workers' Education Bureau of America could take up the following functions immediately:

1. To act as a clearing house of information. This Bureau should receive from time to time careful reports from all the labor educational enterprises, analyze and classify these, so that it could supply this information to the organizations requesting such. Its information service should include not only national but also international labor education undertakings.

2. The Workers' Education Bureau of America should act as a publicity organization. We believe the executive committee could in the near future work out definite means of publicity, either by publishing a bulletin of its own or by securing a section in a regular labor magazine, wherein information in regard to the latest developments in workers' education in the United States and abroad could be periodically issued. Notes and news items about individual schools could also be included. In addition to its bulletin, the Bureau could from time to time send out news stories to the labor press and other papers, thus keeping the workers and the general public continually informed of the educational work done by the organized workers.

3. The Workers' Education Bureau could immediately function as a registration bureau for supplying teachers to the different educational centers. Persons desirous of teaching in labor schools could register with the W. E. B.; the qualifications of these teachers could then be investigated or followed up, and the information supplied to those who desire such teachers.

4. We also believe that the Workers' Education Bureau could do a great deal in making a careful study of the problems of text-books and other class room materials. It could prepare syllabi of courses which should be suggested to affiliated schools. Later on, it could look into the subject of writing and publishing suitable text-books on the Labor Movement and other subjects in which the lack of such material is now keenly felt by most of us. It could also supply a careful bibliography of readings which would be of great benefit to the individual schools and teachers.

5. One of the aims of the Workers' Education Bureau of America, we believe, ought to be the establishment or the careful working out of a more or less clearly definite curriculum. The national organization could investigate and advice, for instance, on such problems as the necessity for the teaching of English in labor colleges. In general, it could work out a standard of education for labor schools which might be followed by the different experiments. It could also make a careful study of the best methods of pedogogy in labor schools, of the merits of propaganda, vocational education and mass education.

6. Another purpose of the Workers' Education Bureau of America might be to co-ordinate such statistics and research work as the various Trade Union Colleges undertake. For each labor college can prove itself of service to the Trade Union or the local labor body which supports it by being prepared to make investigations and furnish in reliable and clear form whatever data may be needed by it. Even when unions already have research bureaus of their own to cover this research work in part, the faculty and advanced students in their colleges could co-operate in collecting and arranging this material. Such work may be of advantage both from an educational point of view and from the point of view of the labor movement as a whole. From the educational point of view, research work of this sort, conducted by competent labor leaders under the expert guidance of those familiar with handling labor statistics, might well prove a more stimulating and practical educational experience than purely academic or thoretical discussion. From the point of view of the labor movement, this constant source of fresh information might well prove of great value. The Workers' Education Bureau of America, then, should stand ready to correlate the results obtained by these separate research groups into a body of statistical information constantly at the disposal of all its branches and in that way ultimately render an inestimable service to the labor movement as a whole.

7. We believe that in order to do these things efficiently it shall provide office or desk space and necessary assistance to the secretary. We suggest the following methods for raising money to carry on the work:

A. Affiliation fees from labor schools.

B. Associate membership fees to the W. E. B. of A. or subscription fees to its bulletin at $2.00 per year.

C. Affiliation fees from labor unions.

D. Entertainments, Lectures, etc.

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:
Paul Blanshard
J. M. Budish
F. M. Cohn
Dr. Harry W. Dana
Dr. I. A. Gladstone
Dr. Alexander Fichandler
J. B. Salutsky
D. J. Saposs
A. Epstein,
Sec'y-Treas.

3. LIST OF OFFICERS (See page 6)

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